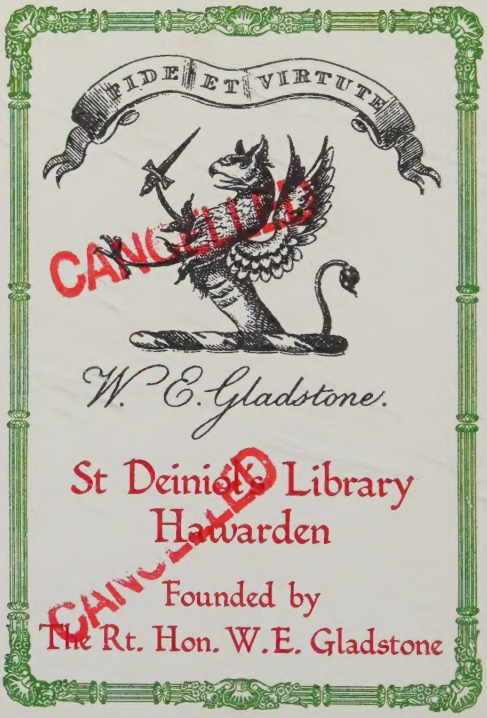
A TRANSVAAL JUBILEE

Being

A History of the Church of the Province of South Africa in the Transvaal

BY

J. A. I. AGAR-HAMILTON, M.A., B.Litt., L.Th.



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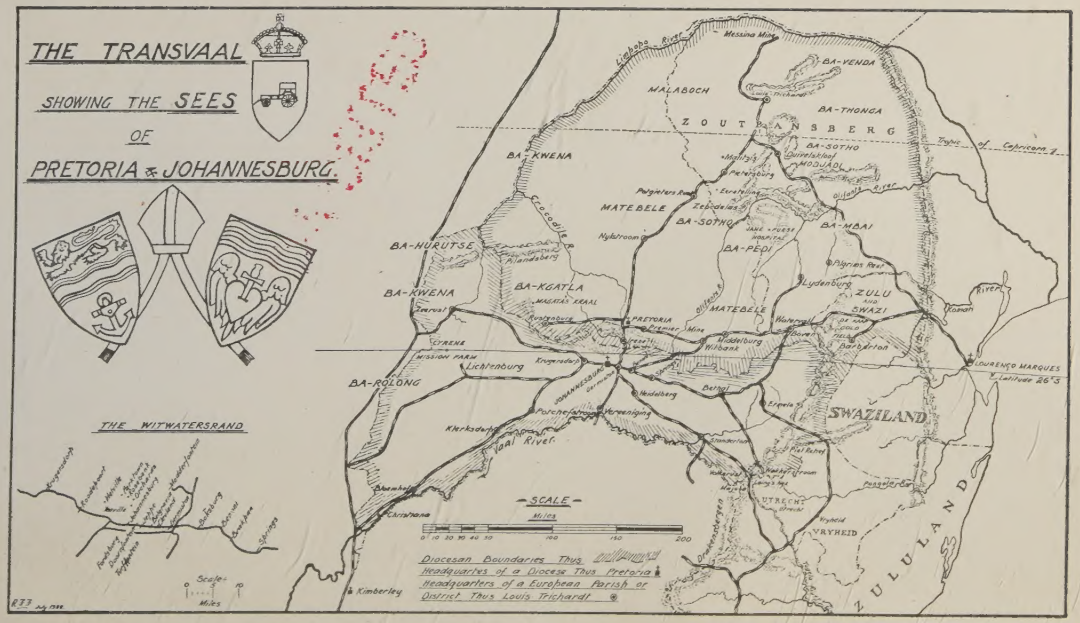
THE TRANSVAAL
SHOWING THE SEES
OF
PRETORIA & JOHANNESBURG.
THE WITWATERSRAND
Scale
Miles
Limpopo River
Messina Mine
BA-VENDA
MALABOCH
BA-THONGA
ZOUTPANSBERG
Tropic of Capricorn
BA-SOTHO
Duivelskloof
MODJADI
BA-KWENA
Pietersburg
Potgieters Rust
Eeretelling
MATEBELE
Zebedelas
BA-SOTHO
Olifants River
BA-MBAI
Crocodile R.
Nylstroom
BA-PEDI
BA-HURUTSE
Pilandsberg
Pilgrims Rest
Lydenburg
BA-KWENA
BA-KGATLA
MAGATAS KRAAL
ZULU AND SWAZI
Zeerust
Rustenburg
PRETORIA
Premier Mine
MATEBELE
Waterval
Barberton
CYRENE
MISSION FARM
Lichtenburg
Krugersdorp
Middelburg
Witbank
LOURENÇO MARQUES
Latitude 26°S
BA-ROLONG
JOHANNESBURG
Heidelberg
Bethal
Ermelo
SWAZILAND
Potchefstroom
Vereeniging
Klerksdorp
Vaal River
Standerton
Piet Retief
Volksrust
Pongola
Bloemhof
Christiana
UTRECHT
Utrecht
Vryheid
VRYHEID
Drakensbergen
ZULULAND
Kimberley
SCALE
Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200
Diocesan Boundaries Thus
Headquarters of a Diocese Thus Pretoria
Headquarters of a European Parish or
District Thus Louis Trichardt

A TRANSVAAL JUBILEE

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE TRANSVAAL

BY

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TO

THE GREATER GLORY OF ALMIGHTY GOD

AND

IN THANKSGIVING FOR THE LIVES AND
EXAMPLE OF THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED HIM
IN THE TRANSVAAL

DECLARATION OF

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

(OTHERWISE KNOWN AS THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, OR THE ENGLISH CHURCH, OR CHURCH OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN THESE PARTS)

AS ADOPTED BY THE PROVINCIAL SYNOD OF 1870

WE, being by representation the Church of the Province of South Africa, do declare that we receive and maintain the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils. And we do further declare that we receive and maintain the Doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline of Christ, according as the Church of England has received and set forth the same in its Standards of Faith and Doctrine; and we receive the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, to be used, according to the form therein prescribed, in Public Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other Holy Offices; and we accept the English version of the Holy Scriptures as appointed to be read in Churches. And further, we disclaim for this Church the right of altering any of the Standards of Faith and Doctrine now in use in the Church of England.

FOREWORDS

We are responsible for the publication of this little book, and yet we are not responsible for its contents to a degree which gives it an "official" character. We have turned to a competent local historian—a Churchman of good-will—and have asked him to tell the story of the last fifty years as plainly as possible. In the main we have been content to secure that his record is accurate, without making ourselves responsible for all his opinions. The author has taken a great deal of trouble in research for his material and in making it into a book. We wish to thank him very heartily for his work. Our thanks are also due to Mr. R. F. Francis for his painstaking help in drawing the map at the beginning of the book.

The story which our author has told is both interesting and encouraging, but it should not breed complacency. By God's grace and mercy may it lead to still better things.

NEVILLE PRETOR:
ARTHUR JOHANNESBURG.

July, 1928.

I am glad that this story of the first fifty years of the Diocese of Pretoria has been written. It tells of how in the days that are gone foundations were laid on which the Church in the Transvaal is building today. It shows also that what has been done in the past has been merely the opening of a way for more to be done in the future.

I wish that some such a story could be written of all our Dioceses in South Africa.

WILLIAM M. CAPETOWN.

August 6, 1928.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	FOREWORDS	vii
CHAPTER		
I.	THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE	1
II.	BEGINNINGS IN THE TRANSVAAL	7
III.	THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP BOUSFIELD	22
IV.	THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP BOUSFIELD (*continued*)	43
V.	BISHOP CARTER AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE DIOCESE	66
VI.	CENTRALIZATION AND DIVISION	91
VII.	AFTER THE DIVISION	110
VIII.	MISSIONS	117
IX.	THE CHURCH OF THE JUBILEE	143
X.	INSTITUTIONS AND WORKS OF MERCY	151
	EPILOGUE	159

A TRANSVAAL JUBILEE

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE

ALTHOUGH English Church services were held regularly in Cape Colony from the days of the second British occupation in 1806, there was no ecclesiastical organization until the coming of Bishop Gray in 1848. Naval and military Chaplains served with garrison and fleet, and a few Colonial Chaplains on the civil establishment; the Governor, in addition to all the other duties and offices conferred upon him by his appointment, acted as Ordinary. The result was much confusion in the minds of ordinary folk as to the real nature of the Church, and a vague idea that religion was one of the functions of government. The new Bishop, however, combined a clear conception of his office and its duties with a grip of the principles of Church history which enabled him to steer a straight course through all the ambiguities and legal complications that then beset the path of a Colonial Bishop.

The Diocese of Cape Town was among the first founded oversea, and the idea at the back of the minds of the law officers of the Crown was plainly to extend their own conception of what constituted the "Established Church." This theory belonged to the Whiggery that won the day at the Revolution of 1688. The "Establishment" of the Elizabethan settlement of 1559 could have been justified to the ideas of the time as a bargain by which the State undertook to secure the Church from its rivals and to lend it coercive authority, in return for the moral support of the ecclesiastical power and the right to nominate its chief officials. Of this kind was the Caroline Church which won the support of Lancelot Andrewes, Cosin and

Laud, but 1688 marked its fall. Churchmen as a whole displayed no enthusiasm for Calvinist Dutchmen and Latitudinarian Germans, and remained faithful to those who were in stark fact and according to the law of the land the rightful sovereigns of England—the exiled Stuarts. The triumphant Whigs thereupon destroyed the whole meaning of the Establishment by granting toleration to the rivals of the Church, gagged her expression of opinion by suppressing her ancient Convocations, and proceeded to treat the crippled remnant as a government department. Bishoprics and deaneries were the reward of Whig pamphleteers, a vague morality was to take the place of religious feeling, and the breath of a suspicion of "enthusiasm" was an insuperable disqualification for office in the Church.

True religion, frowned on in official circles, was driven into Dissent, which benefited by practically the whole of the revival stirred up by the Wesleys in the National Church. The Evangelicals stressed personal righteousness, but made no attempt to redeem the organization as a whole. When yet another movement led to expansion oversea, it was the ideals of the Hanoverian establishment that the Crown lawyers sought to extend. The new Bishop of Cape Town, therefore, was presented with Royal Letters Patent which constituted him a suffragan of the Province of Canterbury, and conferred full ecclesiastical jurisdiction over clerics and laymen alike within the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

After two journeys that covered the whole of the Cape Colony and extended to all known South Africa, Gray decided that the task was too great for a single man, and returned to England to secure the two new Bishoprics of Grahamstown and Natal. In order to permit of the issue of new Letters Patent he resigned his see, and received fresh letters as Bishop of the reduced Diocese of Cape Town and as Metropolitan, with visitatorial powers over the two new Dioceses, but still subject to the general supervision of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Bishop continued the organization of his own Diocese, but met with opposition from those who failed to see the principles at stake. In 1861 refusal on the part of one of his clergy, the Rev. Mr. Long, Vicar of Mowbray, to publish a summons to Synod resulted in his being tried for disobedience and his deprivation by the Bishop's Court. He appealed to the Supreme Court of the Colony, which ruled that the Royal Letters Patent, having been issued after the grant of a constitution to the Colony, were invalid, and powerless to convey coercive jurisdiction of any kind. The Court found, however, that Long had contracted himself personally to his Bishop by ordination and his oath of canonical obedience, and that the Bishop had, in fact, the right to issue a summons to Synod. Long appealed to the Privy Council, which, under the presidency of Lord Westbury (the Sir Richard Bethell who as Solicitor-General had issued the Bishop's Patent), found that it was invalid, and that the Crown had had no right to constitute a Bishopric of Cape Town. The Council maintained, moreover, that since the summoning of Synods had been discontinued in England, Bishop Gray had no right to require his clergy to attend in South Africa.

While the Long case was still before the Privy Council a fresh complication arose. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, had published certain works, notably a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which were regarded as heretical by certain of his clergy, who accordingly presented him to his Metropolitan for trial. Gray was most anxious to avoid proceeding against one with whom he had once been on terms of considerable intimacy, and tried to persuade the English Bishops to deal with the matter. Beyond inhibiting Colenso from preaching in their dioceses and writing a letter calling upon him to resign, a flagrant and unfair prejudging of the issue, they refused to take action and told the Bishop of Cape Town that he must accept the responsibility.

The case was accordingly tried in S. George's Cathedral. Colenso declined to appear and contemptuously sent a

Unitarian, Dr. Bleek, the distinguished philologist and student of Bushman ethnology, to read a formal protest against the jurisdiction of the Court. Considerable doubt existed among the lawyers—and still exists, the Bishop of Lincoln's case notwithstanding—as to the procedure for the trial of a Bishop. The Metropolitan took the precaution, therefore, of trying the case by himself with assessors, for which there was English precedent, confirming the sentence by a meeting of all the available Bishops* of the Province, for which there was Irish authority. Colenso took the case to the Privy Council, which decided, as it had done shortly before in the case of *Long v. the Bishop of Cape Town*, that Gray's Letters Patent were invalid, that Colenso's oath of obedience had been taken under a misapprehension, and that the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court at Cape Town was ecclesiastically null and void.

The result of these two decisions was to destroy the whole basis of the royal supremacy upon which the Crown lawyers were attempting to build up the colonial "Establishment." Bishop Gray, however, with his clear apprehension of the spiritual nature of the Church, was able to cut across the inconsistent decisions and divided counsels of the legal authorities. Lord Westbury, with that clear precision of language for which he was famous, indicated the lawyers' line of retreat—"The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same position with any other religious body—in no better, but in no worse position, and the members may adopt . . . rules for enforcing discipline within their body."

The Metropolitan therefore summoned his provincial Bishops—Colenso, of course, excluded as having been deprived by a competent ecclesiastical tribunal—and arrangements were made for the establishment of a voluntary association to maintain the Anglican communion in South Africa. A Provincial Synod was held in 1870 and drew up a constitution for the Church, under

* They had, in fact, acted as the assessors at the trial.

the designation of the "Church of the Province of South Africa," a name which, like the title-page of the Book of Common Prayer, emphasizes both the local and the universal claim of the Anglican Communion. There was some shaking of heads of the faint-hearted, some alarm at the thought of "secession" on the part of those whose conception of the Church was confused by ideas of the "Establishment," but Gray's wisdom and foresight prevailed, and the example of South Africa has since been followed in every British Dominion.

The Constitution was confirmed at a second Provincial Synod in 1875, and, with minor amendments, remains the Constitution of those Christians who represent the historic Church of England in South Africa at this day. The Bishop, however, did not long survive the accomplishment of his work. He died in 1872 from a fall from his horse, and the final passing of the Constitution was left to his successor, William West Jones. In spite of a belated attempt* of the English lawyers to rivet their chains once more upon the neck of the Colonial Church—an attempt afterwards categorically repudiated by the Privy Council in *Merriman v. Williams*, 7 A.C., 504—the Church of the Province of South Africa has made good. Only three congregations, all founded in the anarchy that preceded the coming of Bishop Gray, declined to enter the Provincial organization, and now remain in the somewhat anomalous position of claiming to belong to a body which has been legally declared not to exist.

The Church of the Province stands emphatically for the Anglican tradition, based firmly upon the ancient ways, yet ever ready to hear and to examine new truth, free from the bonds imposed upon the Mother Church by autocratic Kings and self-seeking politicians, and dependent entirely upon the loving devotion of her sons.

Second only to his grasp of the essentials of his position as Bishop came Robert Gray's extraordinary prescience.

* The judgment of the Master of the Rolls in the *Bishop of Natal v. Gladstone and some others.*

Even in early days he had mapped out South Africa in imagination into Dioceses stretching northwards to the Zambesi. The first Anglican Bishop in Central Africa was consecrated in Cape Town Cathedral, and received his commission from the South African Province. The sees of Grahamstown, Natal, Bloemfontein and Zululand were founded by his efforts, and, though the funds had to be diverted to Natal to take the place of the property held still by the excommunicate Colenso, he had collected an endowment for a Diocese of George.

The Metropolitan already looked forward to the Transvaal territory, and before his death had been planning the establishment of a Bishopric. "In the last letter I ever received from our late Metropolitan," wrote Bishop Wilkinson of Zululand, "he spoke of this Transvaal work: he always looked before many others around him, and saw growing needs which others were content to overlook, and I know that this work was much in his heart."

Though the actual Diocese of Pretoria is only just celebrating its jubilee, the whole area west of the Drakensbergen was actually included in that assigned to the Bishop of the Orange Free State, and the first clergy to work in the Transvaal, now more than sixty years ago, were licensed from Bloemfontein.

CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS IN THE TRANSVAAL

The earliest Europeans to make a home in the Transvaal were members of that migration from the eastern districts of Cape Colony known as the Great Trek. By race a blending of the original Netherlands strain with large infusions of French and German blood, they were staunch Calvinists by birth and early training, and, in spite of long separation from any sort of institutional atmosphere, retained their affection and respect for the Church of their birth. Religion had an honourable place in the community, and English clergy would be the first to acknowledge how much their own task has been lightened as a result. For two or three generations longer they were to remain purely pastoral and agricultural, and such needs as they could not themselves supply were provided by men of other races who drifted into the Transvaal to establish its first town communities. For the first twenty or thirty years trade was carried on by pedlars on a large scale who loaded up a waggon or two in Natal or the Cape and wandered about the Transvaal selling to the farmers, or bartering with them for hides and ivory, until their stock was exhausted.

As the community became more stable, traders settled in the country itself. Potchefstroom, which divided with Pretoria the dignity and spoils of the capital, grew into a fair-sized village, while both the little hamlet of Pretoria, official seat of the government, and Zeerust, jumping-off place for ivory trade with the north and dealings with the tribes of Bechuanaland, attracted a handful of population. Many even of the servants of the state were foreigners, and of this population of traders, hunters, adventurers, and officials a large proportion consisted of men of British

race who had drifted up from other parts of South Africa. In 1859 arrived Messrs. Stamp and Ricketts, with their families, the first members of the English Church to settle north of the Vaal. In 1863 the small body of English people living in Potchefstroom appealed to Bishop Twells of the Orange Free State Territory to provide spiritual ministrations, and promised to do their best towards raising the stipend of a resident clergyman. The Bishop travelled north next year, visiting Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Rustenburg, and stationed Mr. William Richardson at Potchefstroom as Catechist, with a grant of £25 a year out of the funds of the Diocese of the Free State. Mr. Richardson, who had been a Wesleyan minister and then for fifteen years a Catechist at Philippolis, to which he had been licensed by Bishop Gray, began holding services in Potchefstroom. He and his daughter started a day-school which was attended by some thirty children, and a Sunday-school of about the same number.

Next year the Bishop visited "Porchesstown" again, found ten adults ready for confirmation and a Sunday congregation of fifty or sixty which filled the room used as a chapel, and reported favourably on the work. At Pretoria he spent one Sunday, holding services, visiting the homes of English people during the week, confirming three adults and baptizing one infant. On his return he took Richardson back with him, and ordained him deacon "at the Advent Ember Season." He was in the Transvaal once more in 1867, when Potchefstroom held the first agricultural show north of the Vaal. On March 25 came the "laying of the foundation stone of a new English Church (St. Mary's) at Potchefstroom, at which ceremony his honour President Pretorius, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Twells of the Orange Free State, the Rev. W. Richardson, and others, took part."

In the winter months of 1868 a Mr. Croghan paid a visit to the northern villages of the Free State and to the Transvaal, while a Mr. Joseph Wills, still a deacon, was sent to Pretoria.

The work at Potchefstroom seems to have jogged along in the years that followed. The country was agricultural and stable, and rapid growth was not to be expected. Richardson seems to have been well suited to his post. Bishop Twells found that he had "secured the respect of all classes of the community of whatever religious denomination," and his successor at Potchefstroom described him, years afterwards, as "a man of singularly modest and unpretending disposition who toiled humbly but earnestly in the Master's vineyard, and died as he had lived . . . at peace with God and Man. His venerable presence and genial cheery voice . . . will not soon be forgotten." An old photograph shows a kindly, honest face and sturdy figure of that yeoman type which produced many of the best examples of the old British stock.

From July of 1869 to the same month of 1871 the bishopric of Bloemfontein was vacant, and in 1870 Bishop Gray received an appeal from the two deacons and their congregations north of the Vaal to come and visit them, since they had not received the Sacrament for two years. At Epiphany tide of 1872 Bishop Webb summoned his first Synod to meet at Bloemfontein, and William Richardson was ordained priest. In the winter months of that year the Bishop paid his first visit to the Transvaal, as a result of which he established the Rev. Mr. Sadler at Zeerust, and in October he returned, making Pretoria his headquarters until January of 1873. Towards the end of that year he was once more in the Transvaal, and held confirmations both at Potchefstroom and Pretoria.

A change, however, was coming over the Transvaal, and the territory demanded more time and care than the Bishop of Bloemfontein, torn between the cares of the scattered English in the Free State, the floating white population of the Diamond Fields, and the tremendous mission area of Basutoland, could possibly afford. The discovery of gold in the northern districts of the Transvaal in the early 70's brought into the territory a number of newcomers predominantly British by nationality, whose

spiritual care was the responsibility of the English Church. The new problems needed careful organization and oversight, and for once the man was at hand to face them.

Thomas Edward Wilkinson, the real founder of the Diocese of Pretoria, had been consecrated Bishop of Zululand in 1870 under a Royal Mandate which assigned as his jurisdiction "Zululand and the tribes toward the Zambesi River."* The new Bishop was thirty-two years of age, of considerable energy, and not unprovided with worldly means. A good horseman, and not afraid of hardship, he was essentially the sort of which pioneers are made, and to his enthusiasm, labour, and foresight the Diocese of Pretoria owes its foundation. Zululand, his nominal sphere of jurisdiction, was closed by the opposition of the chief Ketshwayo, who put to death any of his people who forsook the ways of his fathers, and the Bishop turned his attention northward to Swaziland, whose inhabitants were traditionally more favourable to intercourse with the whites. The Bishop had an eye for the strategic possibilities of a country, and a firm belief in the necessity for early investments in land. He did what he could, but lack of funds and the opposition of those less adventurous than himself prevented him from carrying out his scheme of buying farms all over the Transvaal. He it was who, out of his own pocket, purchased for Pretoria its first episcopal residence, land for a parsonage, and a great farm in the Eastern Transvaal which a later generation has allowed to slip away.

In May of 1872 the Bishop had crossed the eastern border of the Transvaal to fix a station in that corner of its territory that was known as New Scotland. Thence, according to his reminiscences published thirty years later, he passed on to visit Sekukuni's country in the District of Lydenburg, but no contemporary record has survived. Next year he returned to the Eastern Transvaal and bap-

* The funds for the endowment of this Bishopric were raised as a memorial to Bishop Charles Mackenzie, the first Bishop of the Universities Mission to Central Africa.

tized the first Swazi convert on the 20th July. He had already been in correspondence with Bishop Webb with regard to taking over part of the work among Europeans, and passed on to visit Pretoria. An attempt to cross the mountains near Lake Chrissie failed owing to the loss of his horses, but the Bishop finally pushed up the Pongola valley and through Wakkerstroom. One incident of his journey is worth recording: "We rode across vast plains, quite flat, never arriving at the horizon, most wearying to the eye, but at that time relieved by countless herds of big game, blesbok, springbok, gnu and zebra. . . . Just beyond Laing's Nek we found ourselves in the middle of one of these great herds. I never saw the like before or since—incredible even when seen. They were trooping down from the high table-land of the Drakensberg to the lower and warmer veld. This they do as winter approaches in order to escape the cold of the higher regions, for snow falls in considerable quantities about the upper reaches of the Vaal River, now known as Stander's Drift and Standerton. His house was situated on the great plain under a little rocky kopje. When we left early in the morning a mist enshrouded us. As it lifted the whole plain, as far as the eye could reach—and it can reach far in that wonderfully clear air—was one moving mass, consisting of four—only four, but in number countless—herds of blesbok, springbok, gnu and zebra; and they never mix as they move. We were in their very midst. Millions and millions of these animals, as described by Dr. Livingstone, literally covered like a dense bush those far-reaching plains that morning. As the springbok came to the waggon road they would bound gracefully into the air and clear it. When some hundreds were thus in the air at the same time the appearance was that of a bridge spanning the track."

The tiny hamlet of Pretoria, with its wide grassy roads and irrigation channels running through the streets, seems to have made upon him the same impression of rustic prettiness that it did upon most visitors: "Em-

bowered with rose hedges which blossomed all the year round, richly scented with its orange gardens, and draped in weeping willows and blue gum trees—a pretty little green, hill-girt, well-watered town."

Here the Bishop found two letters awaiting him from Bishop Webb, one a formal commission to act as the deputy of the Bishop of Bloemfontein in the Transvaal, the other imploring him to do what he could to help in the vast area.

He decided to make the place his headquarters for three months at least in every year, and bought a house that still stands in Proes Street. Thence he carried out a thorough survey of conditions in the Transvaal. At Pretoria he found a deacon (Mr. Sharley) "using a schoolroom of very mean proportions as a church: the smallest English agricultural hamlet would not own it as their place of worship"; in Potchefstroom was a priest (Richardson), but the church was too small; and at Zeerust was another priest (Sadler), and the people were trying to raise funds to build a church. In the Lydenburg Gold Fields was another deacon (Cawkill-Barker) who had been sent up by Bishop Webb. Wherever the Bishop went he found the "ministrations of the Church of England enquired for," and there was an especial desire for the establishment of schools. No other religious body held the field, and at Heidelberg, for instance, "the leading inhabitant and founder of the place said he would heartily welcome our Church."

In a letter written immediately after his visitation the Bishop outlined a scheme the directness and simplicity of which show the mind of a strategist. He recommended the immediate raising of £20,000, half of which should be an endowment for the Bishopric, the rest a capital fund towards clergy stipends. A staff of six men was required, an archdeacon and two priests for north and south respectively, to move "on the Wesleyan system of itineration." Schools and churches must be built in each village, and the village schoolmaster was to maintain

the ordinary Services of the Church. There should be a High School for the Diocese in Pretoria, with a master in Orders to assist the Bishop in the pastoral care of the town.

Bishop Wilkinson was fully conscious of the need for identifying the Church with the country. On his next visitation he ordained deacon at Potchefstroom the son of William Richardson, then in charge of the parish, and sent him off to Rustenburg, noting with satisfaction that he had been "born in South Africa, and having lived many years past in the Transvaal, he can preach to the people, Dutch as well as natives, with fluency. He will, I hope, give a Dutch service in the afternoon . . . and I have requested him not to neglect the natives." Again, "so strongly do I feel that we *must*, save in cases where men are required to fill prominent offices in the Church, seek out and work up our native material, that I am trying to get twelve lads given me, sons of Transvaal parents" who should be trained in Church schools for Holy Orders.

In spite of his preoccupation with the whites, the Bishop did not forget the enormous area available for native work. At Heidelberg he heard that the President himself had commented upon the immoral and drunken habits of the native population, and had ordered the assignment of land to a missionary if one could be found. Near Rustenburg he found a white farmer who had collected a congregation of some forty natives to whom he read the Church service. At Eerstelling in the Northern Transvaal a layman, who had been collecting funds, and, in default of others, had invited the Berlin missionaries, appealed to him for help. Near Nazareth (Middelburg) he was twice asked what he could do, and in this district three families told him that his service was the first that they had heard since coming to the Transvaal.

In 1874 the Bishop visited the Transvaal again, and engaged upon a fresh visitation. Touching first at Rustenburg, which he found neglected save for an occasional visit from a Wesleyan from "the old colonies in the south," he held two Sunday services, and secured

the beginning of a church building fund, and a guarantee of £100 a year for the support of a clergyman who should also open a school. Thence he travelled to Magata's Kraal and on to Pilandsberg, where he called on some scattered English settlers, then through the Barolong and Bahurutsi country, where he visited Berlin and Hermannsburg Missions. His next stopping-place was Zeerust, where Sadler had attracted a number of Wesleyans who had no minister, and where, on Sunday, some humorously minded unbeliever put a wild monkey into the church during service, to the perturbation of the ladies. Thence he went through Lichtenburg, where news came of the sudden death of the practical joker, to Potchefstroom, then the chief centre of the English Church in the Transvaal. The first Sunday of his visit he held a confirmation, on the second he ordained two deacons, the first being the son of William Richardson, who was off on horseback to Rustenburg, his sphere of work, two hours after his ordination, and the other a Mr. J. Thorne, a Wesleyan ex-minister who had been attracted by Bishop Gray. In his case, too, the Bishop noted with satisfaction that he was able to speak Dutch.

William Richardson, who must have been over seventy, was on the verge of retiring on a pension guaranteed by the people of Potchefstroom, but the latter were prepared to promise a further £300 a year for five years to a priest whom the Bishop undertook to find to be his successor and to act as archdeacon of the Southern Transvaal. On the way back to Pretoria the Bishop held service for a knot of English farmers, "chiefly Wesleyans," who were in the habit of meeting to read the Church service and a sermon every Sunday. Here, too, he noted that "a nice lad" was given him for the ministry.

In June the Bishop set out again on a visitation of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal, which covered about seven hundred miles. His horse chose the moment when quite a small crowd was seeing him off on the Market Square to give a display of temper, and nearly succeeded

in displacing its episcopal rider. He stuck on, however, and notes grimly in his diary that the horse was made to pay for it before the day was over. The first object of his journey was the gold mine at Eerstelling, near Marabastad, where the Company employed a number of Cornish miners and had imported a crushing machine to deal with the quartz reef. "It was upon this journey," he notes, "that I was introduced to Kruger. He was out with a party of waggons shooting in the veld. He was then, I suppose, of about forty, a tall, dark, high-shouldered, heavy, uninteresting-looking man . . . the leader of the old-fashioned party among the farmers."

At Eerstelling he received considerable encouragement from the manager, a Mr. Button, and thence "started for Lydenburg in a Cape cart drawn by oxen. There is no direct road: there is a track lying somewhere in the direction between the two places, but we never found it." In the end he had to abandon cart and oxen and push on on horseback. At Lydenburg a scheme was afoot for the establishment of some sort of Free Church on "undenominational" lines, but the Bishop succeeded in dissuading the movers and promised to send the Rev. J. Thorne, whom he had ordained a few weeks before. Thence he went on to Pilgrim's Rest, the centre of the alluvial gold diggings, where the deacon Cawkill-Barker had seen hard times and seemed to need a change. At Mac Mac, the end of his tour through the Gold Fields, the collection consisted of nuggets and screws of gold dust in paper. He returned to Pretoria through Lydenburg and Nazareth (Middelburg), where he held services, and a meeting of inhabitants decided to petition the Government for a grant of land for an English church, school and parsonage.

Meanwhile Sharley of Pretoria had taken a round through Heidelberg and Wakkerstroom. The Pongola Bush in those days was the chief source of timber for the Transvaal, and the woodcutters were a collection of outlaws and bad characters whose condition, with that of their families, was worse than the surrounding heathendom.

The Bishop knew the place from his own experience, and entirely agreed with Sharley's suggestion that a clergyman should be placed there.

The Bishop's visitations had given him a clear idea of the needs of the country. He was emphatic on the need for the organization of the Church, and upon the necessity for acquiring land, and his eyes already reached as far as Delagoa Bay. "I have now visited every township in this Republic," he wrote, "and quite think that a foundation is laid everywhere for our own Church to enter and be welcomed in each one as *the* Church of the place: and this may be fully carried out in the course of two years if those at home exert themselves to get us a Bishopric Endowment Fund, and a Clergy Endowment Fund, of at least £10,000 each."

On October 17 Bishop Wilkinson left Bishop's Cote, never, as it proved, to return. His furniture and belongings were left in the house he had bought, meaning it to be the headquarters of his work in the Transvaal. After a long and not uneventful journey by waggon to Durban he sailed with his family to England. Here he devoted his energies to securing the establishment and endowment of a Bishopric for Pretoria.

After his departure the chief information available concerning the Church in the Transvaal is derived from the letters and journal of a certain Rev. William Greenstock, who was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, engaged in spying out the interior of Africa for mission work. Bishop Wilkinson found him in Durban, after an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate to Matabeleland, and urged him to visit the Transvaal. The Society gave him the necessary permission to spend some time in that territory before making a fresh attempt against Matabeleland, and he arrived in Pretoria at the end of June, 1875. He travelled with the Roches, by way of Maritzburg, Harrismith and Heidelberg, spending nearly four weeks on the journey. At Harrismith the party was delayed five days by a snowstorm.

His picture of Church life in the Transvaal is not very rosy. There were six clergy in the territory, of whom three were deacons. The republican authorities would not at first allow an English church to be built in Pretoria, "but they say that, for all they can see, it would have been just as well if there had been none at all." On the Sunday evening of his stay the congregation in St. Alban's Church was eight, though apparently the Wesleyans had had only one! The building was poor, but the deacon in charge, Sharley, lived in a place more wretched still, and the boarders attending his school were sent home because the roof let in rain. Although work had been going on in the gold-fields round Lydenburg for three years, there had been no celebration of the Holy Communion. The Berlin missions were flourishing, though missions as a whole were unpopular with the whites; but "English missions can claim the melancholy satisfaction of immunity from censure," for there were no English missions to condemn!

After a few days in Pretoria, where he preached and celebrated the Holy Communion, Greenstock set out for Eerstelling, which Bishop Wilkinson had suggested as a possible centre for work among both whites and natives. Here he found sixty-four Europeans, mostly Cornishmen, and at this little outpost Mr. Button, the manager, kept up two services a Sunday. At Eerstelling Greenstock stayed five months, making preparations for his next attempt upon Matabeleland, enquiring into the prospects of mission work, and visiting Lydenburg and the Gold Fields round Pilgrim's Rest. He found German missionaries with most of the tribes of the district, except Zebedela, who, when Mr. Button appeared at Eerstelling, promised to be friendly so long as the white men did not send him a missionary, and allowed him to beat his wives when he pleased. Some of Zebedela's people had worked in Natal, and a trader who tried to buy milk from them was told that he must pay a shilling a bottle, "the price you charge us in Maritzburg."

The country was still essentially savage, and the tribes independent of white rule. Malietzie was the dominant chief of the neighbourhood, and the farmers of the district lived there only on sufferance, paying him blackmail to be free from interference. He was in the habit of plundering the gangs of natives who skirted his territory on the way back from work on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, and obliged them to travel in large parties for mutual protection. The authorities at Pretoria made no attempt to redress grievances, and merely referred all complainants to the chief.

"The inhabitants of the Woodbush," wrote Greenstock, "being so far from the efficient help of their own Government, would be in a critical position with regard to independent natives in their neighbourhood, were it not that Mabula (the nearest chief) when they first came there told them to apply to him in any difficulty, and he would protect them. He has been as good as his word, and in cases of thefts uses every endeavour to discover the offender and restore the stolen property."

Work among the whites at Lydenburg was arduous, but not inspiring. The district was passing through one of those periods of depression following on a specious promise of prosperity that seem to be its fate. A letter from Thorne, the deacon sent by Bishop Wilkinson, written in January, 1875, just before the arrival of Greenstock, complained that numbers were dropping, as the great discovery hoped for by the prospectors had not been made. He visited the gold-fields once a month, and obtained congregations of fifty or sixty, which might be increased by a resident priest.

The white diggers were not easy people to deal with. They were men of the purest type of primitive adventurer, making their way in an elemental world by their own wits and the strength of their own right arms. Each man worked his own claim, in the early days, without any native labour, leading water from the streams, turning earth and shifting boulders for himself. Law and order

there were none. One or two clergy had pushed their way up, but they seem in more than one case to have had too much in common with their congregations, and to be attempting to redeem in primitive surroundings the characters they had lost in civilization. Making the parson drunk appears to have been one of the milder relaxations of the Fields.

Both Thorne and Greenstock pointed out that the Gold Fields, with their large accumulation of native labourers, had been totally neglected as a mission field in spite of their great advantages. Thorne commented upon the demoralizing effect of white degenerates upon the natives attracted thither. In one place he had been told of an Englishman who regularly collected a class of natives on Sundays, to teach them to swear. The story does not altogether ring true, but he had himself noticed the way in which natives, mercifully ignorant of the English language, glibly uttered the most terrible oaths.

Thorne worked hard, and Greenstock gave a spirited account of the Good Templars' Hall, borrowed by him when he visited Pilgrim's Rest for service. It was a hut of wattle and daub, with daylight showing ominously through the chinks; the canvas roof had long ceased to perform its function efficiently and had to be protected by a tarpaulin fly. As the building possessed no seats, Thorne had procured a stock of planks which, supported by boxes borrowed for the purpose and supplemented by a few benches from the Courthouse, served to accommodate his congregation.

At Pilgrim's Rest, Greenstock stayed four Sundays. At the one celebration during his stay there were seven communicants, but collections averaged over £4 per Sunday. He also baptized two infants and a boy of thirteen. With this as headquarters he made expeditions as far as Mac Mac and even Middelburg.

On his return from Eerstelling Greenstock spent four weeks at Pretoria, which had been without a clergyman since the previous December. The congregation had

been kept together by the efforts of a layman, Robert Cottle Green, who, backed by the choir and holding Bishop Webb's licence as reader, held two services each Sunday, reading printed sermons. Many, of course, had fallen away, either to Wesleyanism or simple indifference, but the devotion of the faithful few had won its reward. One of the Sundays of Greenstock's stay was Easter Day: there were thirteen communicants, and in the evening the church was filled.

Meanwhile Bishop Wilkinson and the friends of the Transvaal had been at work. £5,000 was raised as endowment for the new Bishopric, and invested to bring in nearly £400 a year. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel undertook to make an annual grant of £900 to bring the Bishop's stipend up to £600 a year, the remainder to be devoted to general funds. For the first three years it paid £100 towards the Bishop's travelling expenses. The amount was miserably inadequate, but would just have sufficed for an unmarried man. A sum of £700 was voted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for church buildings, and a further sum of about £400 was raised towards the building of a cathedral. In October of 1877 the Metropolitan—Bishop West Jones of Cape Town—and Bishop Webb of Bloemfontein visited Pretoria, and next year the new Diocese was duly constituted by the Provincial authorities.

The choice of a Bishop had been delegated to a small committee consisting of the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Edinburgh (Cotterill, formerly of Grahamstown), and the Rev. W. T. Bullock, Secretary of the S.P.G. Bishop Wilkinson was the obvious person for the task. The new Diocese was very largely the fruit of his own labours, both in South Africa and at home, and he seems to have expected the nomination, but was not appointed. He did not return to South Africa. Towards the end of 1877 Mrs. Wilkinson, who had shared much of her husband's toil and privations in South Africa, developed consumption and died in Devonshire. The Bishop did not see the Transvaal

again until he visited it in extreme old age in 1914, and found the country tame and sophisticated that he had known when both were young.

The choice of the selectors fell upon the Rev. Henry Brougham Bousfield, Vicar of Andover in the Diocese of Winchester, and he was offered the see "in the summer of 1876." As a married man with a large family and a specific objection to removing his children to a foreign state, he declined, but the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone in 1877 removed one of his most serious objections, and the offer was renewed. After some hesitation on the score of income he accepted. He was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on the Festival of the Purification of Our Lady, 1878, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Winchester, Salisbury, Grahamstown and Edinburgh, and Bishop Claughton, late of Colombo, but formerly of St. Helena. The new Bishop had first taken, publicly, the oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitical see of Cape Town.

The Diocese of Pretoria was thus duly constituted, and began its fifty years' course to the present day. The new Bishop did not at once leave England, and on Trinity Sunday, June 16, he ordained two deacons for service in the Diocese. The record of their ordination forms the first entry in the new Bishop's brand-new Diocesan Register, and one of them, Alfred Roberts, has been connected with the Transvaal ever since. His jubilee coincides with that of the Diocese, and after fifty years of faithful service he still plays his part, as Archdeacon Emeritus, in the work of the Church.

CHAPTER III

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP BOUSFIELD

I

The Old Transvaal

THE new Bishop was a man of forty-six when he came to the Transvaal, and spent twenty-four years in office. That which impressed strangers and survives in the memory of those who knew him best was his fine commanding presence and magnificent voice. He was unequalled as a catechizer of children, and never failed to impress the necessity for this duty upon others. He was unremitting in his attention to the duties of his office and did not shirk routine. Never more than a few weeks, usually only a few days, passed between the long treks which kept together the scattered congregations of the backveld. His work began before five in the morning—he told a Synod once in a cold July that he had "looked through the printed Acts of Synod, but by candlelight, at six in the morning, wherefore something may have escaped me"; and twenty letter books, most of them with 750 pages apiece, filled with a neat, vigorous hand that did not fail with increasing age, still bear witness to his devotion in keeping pace with dull mechanical routine.

Like all men of determined character and strong opinions, he made enemies: enemies who often did not scruple to make gross allegations against his personal character, and who filled the somewhat indifferent press of those days with pages of scurrilous abuse. Of a naturally autocratic temper, he hardly brooked opposition, and the cause of most of his troubles was a characteristic that in our enemies we are apt to call obstinacy, but in ourselves firmness of will.

The retrocession of the Transvaal shattered his early hopes, and was a crushing disappointment to one who had undertaken the task only on the understanding that he was coming to a rising British colony. His rather querulous complaints and constant references to himself as the "Beggar Bishop" undoubtedly were lacking in dignity, but it must be remembered that he remained at his post and carried on at what seemed a hopeless task. The prosperity brought about by the discovery of gold and the influx of English population came too late, and found him fixed in his habits of mind. The hostility between Johannesburg and Pretoria, by no means extinct today, was carried into the ecclesiastical sphere, and a long-drawn feud embittered the latter days of his episcopate. The Witwatersrand was acutely self-conscious and not a little sensitive to external domination, and the Bishop saw his cherished methods challenged and an *imperium in imperio* setting itself up against the episcopal throne. His defence took the form of rather verbose and exaggerated expositions of the "heaven-sent" nature of the episcopal dignity (from which he might have been saved by a more highly developed sense of humour), Diocesan Synods tended to grow into long monologues from the Chair, with intervals of debate, while his opponents became embittered and fell back upon methods of deliberate obstruction.

It had been intended that he should follow the Law, and his early training was in his father's office. There he gained a certain facility in drafting, and a love for the sonorous tautology of the legal style. He enjoyed drawing up statutes and constitutions, and at the foot of one of his drafts—the petition for the consecration of the original cathedral at Pretoria—the solicitor wrote, "The draft does credit to the Bishop as a conveyancer, and can hardly be improved upon." Some of his forms are in use to the present day. In 1882, the time of the nadir of the fortunes of the English Church—and people—in the Transvaal, the Bishop issued a Constitution and Statutes for

the Cathedral Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Pretoria. They remain, formally engrossed on great folio sheets, duly signed by the Bishop and sealed with the episcopal seal, with elaborate provisions for canonries, Chancellor, Precentor, and Evangelist, Chapter meetings, residence, and so forth, a rather tragic contrast to the depression of the time.

With his strong convictions the Bishop combined a lawyer's love of strict interpretation that verged sometimes upon pedantry. Much confusion was caused by insisting upon the strict use of the terms Curate and Vicar, with the result that Vicars became Curates, and Curates Vicars, to the no small confusion both of themselves and their successors.* Another peculiarity was a contention that the use of the vestments was forbidden in the Church of England to priests, but legal for Bishops. Thus he himself was accustomed to wear full episcopal dress, even to the dalmatic beneath his vestment, while the clergy were restricted to the surplice. A story is current that a priest celebrating the Holy Communion thus vested was once assisted by the Bishop in full pontificals !

But his eccentricities must not be allowed to obscure the real man. His diocese was of enormous area, with widely scattered communities, and on his journeys he mixed with all conditions and made friends in farmhouses and lonely stores. To keep touch with his people he must be constantly on the road. The Bishop had none of that inbred love of horses found in some men, and was never really happy in a cart, yet he gallantly remained at his task, driving himself alone mile after mile along the rough tracks of the country.

And that is the most characteristic picture left by a study of his life—the cart and horses jogging along the rough ways, red with winter's dust or a quagmire from the summer rains, now stuck in those mudholes of which he wrote so vividly and feelingly, now benighted in the veld

* Thus the priest holding the cure of souls of the Cathedral parish was Curate of Pretoria ; his assistants, Vicars.

through a sick horse or wrong direction, its human load shivering until dawn; and through it all the Bishop, growing steadily older, grumbling furiously, as was his birthright as an Englishman, but sticking manfully to his task.

His epitaph was written in a sketch signed "E.F." (probably Canon Farmer) in an early number of *The Anglican*: "His day began at four o'clock in the morning, whilst others slept. It was planned out and filled up until dinner-time with marvellous detail, and small wonder if afterwards he fell asleep in his easy chair, over a prosy book or dull conversation. He drove himself continuously into every part of his huge diocese, endured with cheerfulness rough farmhouse and other crude accommodation, and believed the sun and wind as he drove along accounted for his fine health and strong old age. He was easily accessible, and many a lonely farmer or humble trader looked upon him as a friend. He was a student up to the day of his death, and above everything else a man of prayer. He died poor, for his purse was ever open to the needs of his diocese. I was often his companion in journeys beguiled by reminiscences of men and events in a long, full life; it was my privilege to share many of his confidences, and I can bear testimony that none have borne the stress and struggle of pioneer life under exceptionally difficult circumstances with braver front or more dogged perseverance than Henry Brougham Bousfield."

The new Bishop sailed from Southampton on the 8th August, 1878, with a large party, Mrs. Bousfield and their eight children, with three servants; two lady workers for the new Diocese; two deacons, A. Roberts and C. M. Spratt; and two candidates for orders, H. Adams, father of the late Chancellor of the Diocese of Pretoria,* and Frank Dowling. They landed at Durban, and after many delays the Bishop crossed the border into his new Diocese on St. Stephen's Day, 1878, and entered Pretoria from the east the day after Epiphany 1879. One of those who

* Died 1928.

rode out to meet him, and escorted the party across the Aapies River and up the long avenue of gum-trees called Arcadia that ran from the river to Market Square, was H. Rider Haggard, then little more than a boy, but Master of the Supreme Court to Shepstone's administration.

The Transvaal that Bishop Bousfield found differed in many ways from that which Bishop Wilkinson left four years before. The country had become a dependency of Great Britain, a few detachments of troops protected it against native invasion, Pretoria held a sprinkling of English civil servants, and a steady stream of English-speaking people came in to farm or to engage in trade. The population of Pretoria, in 1873 a village of not more than three hundred inhabitants and eighty houses, had risen to fifteen hundred, and the general atmosphere was one of cheerful optimism.

In Pretoria itself the foundations were laid of a church that still forms the nave of the present cathedral. The earliest services had been held in a schoolroom, with whitewashed walls of raw brick and thatched roof, which stood on the corner of Church Square, now occupied by the Palace of Justice. Here the Rev. Joseph Wills was holding services in March of 1872. "No priest, no church, no altar, not a vestige of ecclesiastical arrangement, and I remember with pain the harmonium better than the sermon"—so wrote one who looked back upon his first experience of church-going in Pretoria after thirty years. Through the labour of a handful of devoted laymen, notable among them being John Robert Lys, George Pigott Moodie, and Robert Cottle Green, efforts were made to put up a special building. This was built in Church Street West "on the second erf from Koch Street on the left as you face west" and dedicated to St. Alban, Protomartyr of Britain. The first service held within it was evensong on Easter Eve, 1872, and ten people were present. In 1903 it still stood, behind what is now the Lombardy Hotel, but even when its windows and ceiling were intact, which was not always the case, it cannot have been

a very prepossessing place. "A mean building some forty feet long and fifteen feet wide, whitewashed and with calico windows and an open thatched roof, rough benches without backs, some common green-stuff hangings at the east end, and a red baize altar cloth, a white cross I believe, and brass pillar candlesticks such as we find today in our kitchens, and two earthenware vases, worth say threepence each, but costing five shillings: you knelt on a mud floor and you had no hassocks. There would be less kneeling than ever today if we put the clock back thirty years."

When Bishop Wilkinson wished to baptize his second son in this church he had been obliged to use a silver bowl for lack of a font, and the new Bishop brought with him a font of Devonshire marbles that stands in the cathedral to this day. According to Bishop Wilkinson, whose gift it was, "The basin is of somewhat rare salmon-coloured Agwall marble; the shaft of black madrepore marble from Babbacombe; the base of Heyton granite from Dartmoor."

In the old church worked at intervals Wills, Sharley, Cawkill-Barker, and A. J. Law, only the last-named being in priest's orders. In the intervals services were kept going by lay workers with some assistance from stray visitors like Greenstock. Then came the British annexation: the population was swelled by officials, traders and a number of others who drifted up to the Transvaal. The old shed was now too small, and a new building was started, to serve as church and hall combined, upon a site in Schoeman Street. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, though an ardent supporter of the Colensoite schism in Natal, seems to have been prepared to throw the mantle of the Establishment in his own person over the new Diocese, and laid the foundation stone. It still remains, a small block of freestone upon which is carved

DEO GLORIA

✠

April 4, 1878.

After two changes of position due to the expansion of the building, it has at last found a place in the pillar on the south side of the new chancel arch.

Much interest was taken in the building by the troops then stationed in Pretoria, and tradition has it that the plan was derived from that of the only type of erection known to the Royal Engineers—a goods shed. When the Bishop arrived at the beginning of 1879 the walls were a few feet high. In his charge were a few hundred pounds collected in England for the building of a cathedral, and he offered to pool these with those collected locally for the church.* A most impressive document exists, evidently drafted by the Bishop, setting out the agreement between himself on one side and the representatives of the parish on the other that the new building should be both cathedral and parish church. The parishioners agreed further "that in the said new church the arrangement and regulation of all services and disposal all of offertories . . . shall be in the hands of the Bishop and his successors."

When all was said and done the building was poor enough, more like a railway shed than a church, as the Bishop said himself, but before leaving England he had begged one or two relics with which to dignify the interior. The episcopal throne is of oak from an old beam in Winchester Cathedral, and the tree from which it was hewn must have grown in an English forest nine hundred years ago; the canopy over the throne has been built up of fragments from one of the canopies in Ely Cathedral; another chair is of wood from Canterbury. It is only appropriate that the pulpit in the cathedral, which is Bishop Bousfield's own memorial, should have come from the roof timbers of Winchester.

Once settled in Bishop's Cote—the house in Proes Street bought by Bishop Wilkinson—the new diocesan looked around at the work. There were three priests already in the Diocese, at Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Zeerust,

* Before sailing for South Africa he had procured a plan for a church from Butterfield, but the work had gone too far to be changed.

and two deacons, at Rustenburg and Lydenburg, while two deacons and two lay workers had come out with his party. At Pretoria the Bishop established morning and evening prayer daily and a weekly celebration. Within a fortnight of his arrival he had started a school for girls inside his own house, where the episcopal family alone provided a very satisfactory nucleus. Soon afterwards a boys' school—St. Birinus—began under Alfred Roberts, while the girls' school, placed under the patronage of St. Etheldreda, was able to move into a house bought for the purpose in Koch Street. An elementary school was also started for poorer children and dedicated to the Good Shepherd.

The next task was the organization of the country districts, but here the Bishop was faced by the difficulty of transport. He estimated his own expenditure upon travelling at about £350 a year, which certainly could be ill-afforded out of a stipend of £600. His first visit was paid to Heidelberg, where services were held by two young men, whom, on the recommendation of Law, he licensed as readers. A second trip, in company of a circuit judge, was taken through Potchefstroom, Zeerust and Rustenburg. At the first-named he had his first experience of friction with a congregation—on the eternal native question—and his first encounter with that load of debt that haunts many a parish in South Africa. William Richardson had not been able to retire, in spite of his advanced age, and both church and parsonage were heavily in debt. At Deelkraal the first-fruits of the native races appeared in a group whose members had picked up a certain amount of Christian doctrine and wished for a regular teacher. At Zeerust the Bishop again found a heavy debt upon the church, and a congregation at odds with its minister to boot, but he succeeded in getting promises to pay off the debt, and with a grant of £50 from Diocesan funds and another £50 from S.P.G. was able to make up the pittance of £150 that formed the reward of the priest in charge. At Rustenburg he found

that J. P. Richardson drew most of his living from the proceeds of a little school.

Other trips took the Bishop to Standerton, prosperous for the moment, since its healthy climate had led to its choice as a cavalry station, and again to Middelburg and Lydenburg by post-cart. At the last-named he found that the deacon in charge—Thorne—had built what was by far the best church in the Diocese, though both it and the parsonage were heavily in debt. A final expedition in October of 1879 brought the Bishop to Wakkerstroom and Utrecht. On this journey he made his first acquaintance with a mudhole and with the joys of horsebreaking. A detachment of troops at Utrecht provided work for a priest, who used from time to time to ride over to minister to the handful of English people at Wakkerstroom.

The result of the first year's work was a fairly comprehensive survey of the Diocese, some attempt at financial stability, and acquaintance with nearly two thousand miles of Transvaal roads. The Bishop's report placed his requirements at five men, one each for Pretoria, Heidelberg and Middelburg, and two for itinerant work; secondly, £1,000 a year for some years to pay them until the work should become self-supporting; thirdly, women workers for educational work and nursing; fourthly, school buildings; fifthly, a fund of about £1,000 for making grants towards church buildings; sixthly, a larger income for the Bishop; and, lastly, the development of mission work among the natives.

On Advent Sunday of 1879 the Bishop, who was in charge of Pretoria in the absence of the regular priest with the troops serving against Sekukuni, was able to move into the new cathedral. The walls were still unplastered, and its floor simply of beaten earth, but, with the assistance of a fatigue party from the Royal Engineers, the furniture was transferred from the old church, and the Bishop was able to begin the new ecclesiastical year in a new building. The average Sunday congregation was now about two hundred, and it was able to contribute about £300 a year

to the support of its priest. Another task undertaken by the Bishop, one which was always very near to his heart, was the enclosure and improvement of the cemetery. Little had been done for the place before his arrival, but he succeeded in raising about £30 in Pretoria and had the ground enclosed and laid out in paths.

The departure of A. J. Law, who had contracted malaria in the field, tied the Bishop to Pretoria during 1880, though he took one trip round Rustenburg, Zeerust, and Potchefstroom, and another to Middelburg. On September 21, 1879, he had ordained J. Thorne, and on December 21 C. Spratt and A. Roberts, to the priesthood; on May 23 of next year Mr. Adams was made deacon; and in Potchefstroom on September 19 he ordained J. P. Richardson and Alexander Temple priests. At the end of the year the Bishop left for Cape Town, to attend the Episcopal Synod and to take part in the consecration of the new Bishop of Zululand.

On his return the Transvaal was in revolt, and he passed only with difficulty through the commandos that were converging upon the capital. The story of the siege does not matter here, nor does the policy of retrocession call for comment except, perhaps, the suggestion that if, of the two Prime Ministers, three Secretaries of State, two High Commissioners and two Administrators who dealt with the affairs of the Transvaal Colony in the three brief years of its existence, one individual had been allowed to carry out a reasoned policy the disaster might not have occurred, and the tragedy of the two Boer Wars been spared. The actual fact came upon the infant Diocese as an overwhelming disaster. The little communities of English-speaking people were scattered. Government officials left as a matter of course, and were followed by all whose interests were not too deeply pledged in the country. Places like Middelburg and Standerton and Rustenburg, which had just made arrangements to support a priest, found themselves bereft of the greater part of their English-speaking population and unable to honour their

guarantees. Three priests died, and two left the Diocese during the troubles. The work of the church was forced upon the defensive. There was no longer any chance of expansion, and the problem was how to keep touch with the scattered remnants of English population, often in very poor circumstances, that lingered on in tiny dorps and lonely stores. For the next few years every parochial report tells a tale of falling numbers and financial depression. Only at Pilgrim's Rest, where the Digger population remained sturdily British, did the deacon-schoolmaster Dowling find it possible to jog along, while in 1884 Adams, the priest at Lydenburg, reported that "church prospects are becoming brighter at my station." Next year, however, he told the same tale as the rest of the country—"our population is decreasing: commercial depression grows rapidly."

The Bishop was as much distressed as any, but set himself to keep things going by personal visits to the various centres, and urged on his friends and supporters in England to supply funds to keep the work of the church alive. It is unfortunate that he adopted a querulous tone and emphasized his personal sufferings. To read that the children of the "Beggar Bishop" were being "stinted of bread and milk" may have drawn, and did actually draw, a large number of personal subscriptions, but this type of appeal was hardly in the best interests of the Diocese or of the Episcopate as a whole. It obscured, too, the fact that the clergy suffered every whit as badly—Archdeacon Roberts remembers that his stipend was nine months in arrear—as the Bishop, whose income was drawn from endowments, and was thus at least secure.

The church was kept alive, however, largely by the Bishop's ceaseless itinerating, and in 1882 he was able to hold the first Synod of the Diocese. It opened on Saturday, the 28th October (SS. Simon and Jude), with a celebration of the Holy Communion, and the total number of clergy present—some arrived late through transport difficulties—was six priests, C. Clulee, C. Ellingham,

C. Page Wood, H. Sadler, A. Roberts and J. P. Richardson; two deacons, H. Adams and G. D. Webster, the latter acting as Bishop's chaplain; and F. Dowling and W. S. Siggers, who were ordained deacon and subdeacon respectively during the Synod. At the opening meeting were present the Bishop, five priests, two deacons, one subdeacon, one catechist, and three laymen. One priest, one deacon and the catechist had credentials or authorization of some sort from their layfolk.

At the very beginning arose a doubt as to whether the gathering was in fact a Synod at all, since no summons had been issued for the election of lay delegates as such. The Bishop pointed out that in March of 1880 he had issued a circular letter requesting the election of two churchwardens and four sidesmen for each parish, "in the hope of one day seeing the Diocese duly organized, with its laity taking their place in Synod." In the absence of any directions for the constitution of a Synod in the Provincial Canons he had invited all churchwardens and sidesmen in the Diocese, and had asked them, in the event of their not being able to attend, to elect a proxy for the parish from someone living in Pretoria. This was actually done by the parishes of Potchefstroom and Lydenburg. In spite of this the meeting at first decided to proceed as a "Conference," and not as a Synod, but the Bishop secured a reconsideration of its action, and on Wednesday, November 1, it passed by one vote (7 to 6) a resolution rescinding the previous decision and sustaining the Bishop in summoning a Diocesan Synod.

On Tuesday, October 31, the first Bishop of Pretoria was formally enthroned in his cathedral, a ceremony which, though required by the Provincial Canons, had been delayed by the troubled times through which the country had passed. The next day—All Saints' Day—the cathedral was solemnly consecrated, with the dedication of St. Alban, who had been patron of the little church originally put up in Church Street.

The Synod could now settle to business, and passed

some "Preliminary Resolutions" for presentation to the Provincial Synod, which recorded the establishment of the Diocese, the consecration of its Bishop, and the holding of its first Synod. The Grahamstown troubles were much in the air at the time, and the Resolutions were carefully phrased to exclude the possibility of their being construed by skilful lawyers into an act of secession from the Church of England: "That it is expedient that in all acts and Documents this Church, which comprehends the aforesaid Transvaal, should be called 'the Church of the Diocese of Pretoria in the Province of South Africa,' and in such as relate to property addition should be made of the words 'as defined by the Constitution or Deed of Association adopted by the Provincial Synod of 1870 and ratified on the 18th February, 1876,' this title being in no way intended to exclude others such as English or Anglican Church, nor to abandon or lessen the strength of our claim to be the English Church (so far as the word English can be used of African institutions) in these parts, as a Church sprung from the Church of England as she traces her descent from the earliest days, and is 'now by law established,' and in full communion with her and with all other Churches in communion with it, but express the fact that this universal communion is maintained by and through Provincial organization of the Churches of South Africa under the Metropolitan See of Cape Town."

In face of this clear statement of the position, it is difficult to see how those who engineered the Johannesburg schism of 1903, and added yet one more unhappy division to the distracted Church, could possibly justify their attitude except by rank congregationalism.

Among the necessary preliminaries was the erection of a Board of Trustees, to be incorporated according to the laws of the State, who should hold the title of all property belonging to the Church. It was decided that they should consist of "the Bishop, Archdeacons (if any), Chancellor and Registrar." Mr. L. P. Ford was then appointed Chancellor and Mr. R. Kelsey Loveday Registrar of the

Diocese. A committee was appointed to draw up rules for the Synod and Canons for the Diocese, and settled at once the vexed question of the constitution of the House of Laymen in Synod: "Every Parish and Chapelry recognized by the Bishop in which there are not less than three or more than twelve male parishioners, being communicants of full age of twenty-one years and upwards, shall elect one delegate." Any parishioner who during the previous year had contributed at least ten shillings to church funds was to be entitled to vote at the election of the representative of his Parish.

The Synod also accepted the statutes establishing a Chapter for the Cathedral Church of St. Alban. They had been drafted by the Bishop as an obvious labour of love, and though it is easy to smile at the enthusiasm which endeavoured to set up in the struggling little outpost Diocese the elaborate capitular system that had taken fourteen or fifteen hundred years to develop in England, he anticipated in many ways theories that are fashionable at the present day. The basic idea was that the Cathedral Chapter should act as what has been called recently a "General Staff" for the Diocese. The Canon Evangelist, Precentor and Chancellor were charged with the oversight of missions, music and education respectively, throughout the Diocese, and the fourth Canon was to receive the cure of souls of the parish of Pretoria, of which the cathedral acted as parish church. Out of the meagre returns of the Clergy Endowment Fund the Bishop proposed also to establish prebends in the cathedral, which should serve to connect certain outlying clergy with its work and should secure their residence from time to time at the centre of things. The first of these was the Prebend of St. Patrick, created originally to provide a pittance as pension for the aged William Richardson, and bestowed at his death on Charles Clulee, who came from the Free State to take over the mission work of the church. Another, the Prebend of St. Augustine, created later and first held by Alfred Roberts, was intended for an ex-student

of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and was charged with the duty of supervising the younger clergy. Had there been adequate funds for the maintenance of the work, the Cathedral Chapter might have been a decisive factor; as it was, though the statutes remained in force—and presumably do still—their application was never more than sporadic.

At this Synod the Bishop introduced another change, which, though strictly speaking correct, caused endless confusion both within and without the Diocese. This was the withdrawal of the title of Rector from the two priests who had used it (apparently without any formal authority) at the time of his arrival, and the substitution of "Curate" as the designation of the priest to whom was confided the cure of souls of a parish. This certainly gave meaning to the phrase "Bishops and Curates" in the Prayer Book, but the Bishop's explanation that the word "Rector" was concerned only with the holder of tithe was scarcely adequate. Priests licensed as assistants to the "Curate" of a parish were to hold the title of "Vicar."

The Synod in committee resolved that the stipend of the Bishop should be at least £1,200 a year, exclusive of travelling allowances, but the laymen, sitting apart in committee of ways and means, could not see their way to raising more than £50 a year for Diocesan purposes, over and above that which was collected in the parishes.

This concluded the business of Synod, which adjourned on Saturday, November 4. One or two days it had sat for eight hours, while individual members had spent another three or four upon committees, and some, according to the Bishop, nearly fourteen in all. This, in the atmosphere of a Pretoria November, must be accounted quite good going.

At the end of 1882 the Bishop reported at length upon the state of Diocese, and his figures are interesting. The professed Church population he estimated at 1,300 or 1,400 in all, though round the little nucleus of Church folk were accustomed to gather members of other denomina-

tions and sects, either without the care of, or at feud with, their proper religious teachers. In Pretoria and Potchefstroom were about three hundred professed Church people, and congregations averaged between seventy and a hundred at both places; at Zeerust, and perhaps Lydenburg about a third of these numbers; at Pilgrim's Rest and a few others still fewer. In all but the two largest centres it would be necessary for the resident clergyman to make a large proportion of his living out of a school, while for the smallest groups and the sprinkling of people left on the farms an itinerating system was needed. On the possibility of expansion the Bishop's remark was penetrating and unhappily true: "Always allowing for changes in a new country which may be sudden and unexpected, so far as I can calculate it seems certain that the progress of this country will be as slow as a governmental policy of obstruction to progress can make it." Even the Gold Fields offered little prospect of advance, as the policy of the Republic was to eliminate the digger by a system of concessions to capitalists.

Of church buildings, the cathedral was "rather too much like a railway shed outside" and, though well-fitted within, lacked floor and ceiling; school buildings and a house were very urgently needed. At Potchefstroom the parsonage was uninhabitable and the church in urgent need of buttressing. At Zeerust the church was in fairly good condition, but the clergyman was obliged to pay £72 a year for rent out of an income of £250. At Lydenburg the church was in fair condition. At Wakkerstroom a private benefactor had provided a school building available for church purposes. At Standerton there was a little school chapel, but at Rustenburg, deserted by almost all its English population, house and parsonage were falling into ruin; while at Heidelberg and Middelburg deserted foundations of churches showed where work had been begun in more prosperous times and then abandoned.

The clergy were distributed about the Diocese as follows: at Pretoria, the Bishop was responsible for the cure of souls,

with the assistance of Alfred Roberts, the priest who acted as head of St. Birinus' School. The Rev. J. Thorne, having spoken out somewhat freely on the subject of the "apprenticing" of native children by the Boers, judged it expedient to leave Lydenburg after the retrocession, and his place was taken by Adams, transferred from the almost deserted Middelburg. Pilgrim's Rest was left to Frank Dowling, deacon and schoolmaster. Standerton was abandoned, and Charles Spratt was moved to Potchefstroom, where his early death left a vacancy that was filled by the coming of Charles Page Wood. H. Sadler was transferred from Zeerust to Wakkerstroom (where he remained until his death in 1903). His place was filled by J. P. Richardson, who moved from Rustenburg, whose scanty English population could no longer support a priest. Contact with the smaller stations and scattered families was maintained by the itineration of the Bishop, Alfred Roberts in holiday time, and two other "Vicars" appointed to the cathedral staff; but the death of G. D. Webster and the breakdown in health of S. Siggers disturbed the Bishop's plans.

The Church population was very poor. A handful of professional men, lawyers and doctors in Pretoria formed the nucleus of the Diocese—commercial prosperity in the Transvaal seems to have been always the exclusive privilege of the "Free Churches." Quite a number of English families farmed, with varying degrees of success, in different parts of the country, but save at Thorndale, on the Rustenburg road, they were never near enough together to make regular Church life a possibility. In the little country towns a few families gained a living from trade, and there were country stores where lived an English family, or more often a couple of young men, either from England or one of the older colonies. The great contrast with the Transvaal of the present was the absence of the Russian Jew and the Asiatic, who nowadays monopolize practically the whole of the country trade, and hold most of that in the towns. The Boer in those

days was true to his name and seldom left the farm; professional and commercial men were all outsiders—"Uitlanders"—from Holland, Britain, Germany, or the Colonies.

The diocesan accounts for 1883 give the estimated collections from the various Church centres for the following year: though only in round numbers, they give a good idea of their relative importance. Pretoria was expected to provide £250, Potchefstroom £200, Potchefstroom native mission £25, Zeerust £100, Rustenburg £35, Lydenburg £100, and Pilgrim's Rest £100. The proceeds of these church collections were augmented from the grant made by S.P.G. and the Clergy Endowment Fund, but no priest received more than £300 a year, and the unmarried men £200, and even so the Bishop budgeted for a deficit of £1,219. No stipends in the Diocese were adequate, and the clergy lived a life of grinding poverty.

The Bishop's balance sheet for the preceding year (ending 30 September, 1882) is not altogether easy to follow, but shows a total expenditure of £2,126, of which "stipends guaranteed by the Bishop" account for £1,474, travelling expenses £313, loss on schools (including the rent of a house for the Master of St. Birinus*) £172, and church and school buildings for £167. Against this, "parochial contributions and in some cases school fees" gave £347, and "offertories and donations in the Diocese" £108. The whole of the balance, which does not include the Bishop's own stipend and travelling expenses, had to be found elsewhere. In January, 1883, the Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province passed a resolution that the income of the Bishop of Pretoria should be "not less than £1,000 a year."

To make matters worse, several of the parishes, relying on the steady development of the country, had committed themselves to expenditure and incurred debts, especially for buildings, often without episcopal authority, that

* £84 a year.

the depleted remnant of their congregations could not face. The nightmare of these years of debt left their mark upon Bishop Bousfield to the end of his life.

Since the English Church had sent him out, the Bishop appealed to England for assistance, and his friends and representatives organized a Committee to raise funds for the Pretoria Diocese. A meeting was held at the Mansion House on the 21st May, 1883, at which the Bishop's request for £2,000 a year over and above existing endowments and grants was put forward. A campaign was started for raising subscriptions, working parties were held in many parishes, and boxes of goods sent out to the Transvaal to be sold on behalf of its various funds. By the end of September, 1883, over £2,150 had been sent out to the Bishop.

At the second Synod, in 1883, were present eight clergy and seven laymen; the Canons of the Diocese were taken through the Committee stage, and a Standing Committee of the Diocese and Diocesan Finance Board were established. The Bishop was especially pleased that the Canon dealing with the discipline of the laity was passed by the House of Laymen without opposition. The Government of the Republic was rather dubious about the position of the Church, and at first declined to incorporate the Diocesan Trustees, for fear, apparently, lest it should be giving state sanction to the English Church. At the same time, the Bishop was requested to refrain from signing himself "H. B. Pretoria," and in spite of his protests was obliged to subscribe letters to State departments "H. B. Bousfield, Bishop of Pretoria." On all other occasions he retained his usual signature, though after 1886 he adopted the form "H. B. Pretor", to which he said he had been driven by the sight of one of his brethren describing himself as "X. Barbados and the Windward Islands."

The Third Synod of the Diocese met in November, 1884, and gave final form to the Canons of the Diocese. It had been decided that the Bishop should return to England

to speak and raise funds for the Diocese, and he reviewed his six years' episcopate in his Charge. When he entered the Diocese it had contained four churches and a school chapel, all save one heavily in debt, and one school, while the clergy numbered three priests and two deacons. Before the war he had succeeded, stimulating local effort by the promise of grants, in paying off these debts. Three Diocesan schools, beside other private ventures, had been opened. The war had piled up debts of £800 in the parishes and deprived the Diocese of five priests. Generous help from home, however, had enabled these difficulties to be met, and there were now nine priests, two deacons, four catechists and readers, and a handful of native teachers besides. Thirteen schools, of varying size and importance, had been established. Synods had met and drawn up Canons for the regular administration of the Diocese. This had not been accomplished without enormous toil, constant movement about the country, and tremendous expenditure of energy in inspiring the flagging enthusiasm of the disappointed remnant. The Bishop had no cause to feel ashamed of his six years' work.

Before he left he handed over the cure of souls of Pretoria to Thomas Kewley, making him Canon of the Cathedral, but retaining in his own hands the conduct of services and the disposal of the collections. He also made him a Vicar-General and administrator of the Diocese during his absence.

In England the Bishop spent about fourteen months, and succeeded in making arrangements for better support and a more certain revenue. After the Retrocession he had seriously considered resignation, but while the laymen he consulted counselled this step, his clerical brethren had been equally decided that he should face the difficulties of the task that had been committed to him. Before he left the Transvaal he told his people that his return as Bishop was conditional upon steps being taken to ease the strain of continual financial anxiety. This was

done. The supporters of the Pretoria Diocesan Fund saw their way to collecting a large annual sum for the use of the Transvaal Church, while a small group of friends, among them the Bishop's own brother, E. H. Bousfield, guaranteed an annual subscription towards his travelling expenses.

CHAPTER IV

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP BOUSFIELD (*continued*)

II

The New Transvaal

When the Bishop returned to his Diocese at Eastertide of 1886 he settled down to what promised to be years of steady if uneventful and uninspiring development. The country seemed to have achieved stability after the rapid changes of the last few years. Though the Boers could not be very friendly, there was no great cause for friction. In 1894 the Bishop excused himself from telling what he considered to be the truth about the War of 1880 and the policy of Retrocession on the ground that he was one "whom the Boers have almost universally treated with consideration, and kindness and respect." The English population, tiny as it was, was settled, and though it seemed that the Diocese could never be anything more than petty and insignificant, its problems were known and well-defined, and the Bishop could set out on his never-ending jog-trot through the Transvaal with the satisfaction of knowing that things were past their worst.

Even the minutes of Synod are uneventful, and no very acrimonious dispute ruffled the even calm of the proceedings. That of 1886 considered and approved of a resolution recommending the assessment of parishes for Diocesan purposes, and appointed a Committee to go into it more thoroughly. The next Synod postponed the matter again, and after intermittent discussion from one or two more it was dropped, to slumber until Bishop Furse carried the principle a score of years later. An improvement in the relations between English and Dutch showed

itself in the same Synod, which voted an address to the Synod of the United Dutch Church sitting in Pretoria at the same time, and provoked a formal exchange of compliments.

The Bishop was away from the Diocese in 1888 to attend the Lambeth Conference, and the Sixth Synod, which met in July, 1889, saw the beginnings of a revolution. His visit to England in 1885 had marked the lowest point of the fortunes of English people in the Transvaal, and consequently of their Church. But Africa is always incalculable. Archdeacon Roberts tells how, as priest attached to the cathedral at Pretoria, it was his duty to keep in touch with the Church population in the area between Middelburg, Standerton and Rustenburg, by long journeys with horse and cart. In those days of depression he often outspanned and slept the night on a bleak tableland miles away from the nearest village. That spot is now the site of Commissioner Street, and beneath him, unguessed, lay the buried millions of "the Reef"! Their discovery brought a fundamental change into the sleepy, easy-going community among which the clergy worked.

The first warning of a coming change had been the discovery of deposits of gold, considerably richer than those worked in the Lydenburg District, in the mountains known as "de Kaap." A miscellaneous population flowed in from all parts of South Africa and from oversea, and a village of huts and tents sprang up at Barberton. The new field was visited once or twice from Lydenburg, and in May, 1886, the Bishop wrote, "I am anxiously devising plans for sending a priest to the Gold Fields." Later in the same year the Rev. Henry Adams was transferred from Lydenburg and placed in charge of the "de Kaap Mission," a miscellaneous collection of mining camps hidden away in the inaccessible valleys of the Berg. He threw himself into his new work with enthusiasm, and the rising tide gave promise of a prosperous future.*

* The congregation guaranteed a stipend of £600 per annum and undertook to build a house and church.

The settlement of Barberton was well within the fever belt, and medical attention was unknown. The priest in charge devoted his first care to providing a hospital, and the church and parsonage followed—of iron—being built with borrowed money.

But the prosperity of Barberton was shortlived, new fields were opened up, and population and capital drifted away to the Witwatersrand. After desperate efforts to save the situation, the parsonage had to be sold to satisfy the bondholders, and the priest threw up the struggle heart-broken. This catastrophe left its mark upon the Bishop, and produced a scepticism with regard to the future of Johannesburg that was not altogether without foundation.

The new field lay closer to Pretoria, and the Bishop was able to give it his personal superintendence: "I paid my first visit to the then commencing Witwatersrand Gold Fields, I think in October. At the top of a rising ground . . . there then stood twenty-eight or twenty-six shanties rather than houses, of which sixteen were places of sale for drinks, and an hotel, in the dining-room of which I held the first church, or I think any, services. At my second visit I found a few mud-brick cottages a little below the top of the rise: on a third, houses were springing up here and there in the bottom, and the Sunday services were held in a newly-building store. In the following May I drove in from the Natal direction, along miles of rising mines, and found Commissioner Street as busy as I first saw Kimberley."

The population collected by the Witwatersrand in its early days must be unique in the world's history. The reefs were deep down beneath the level of the earth, and demanded expensive machinery and highly capitalized effort. There was little scope for the swashbuckling digger of Pilgrim's Rest and of the type made known by the literature of the Rockies. An immense multitude of every race and tongue under heaven, some seeking employment, some adventure, and some the opportunity to batten upon

the sins and follies of their fellow men, flocked to Johannesburg. Men of gentle birth and breeding rubbed shoulders in its shacks with international criminals, who found in the absence of any sort of restraint or restriction a happy sphere for their activities. Men of sturdy Colonial stock came up from the Cape Colony and Natal to mingle with the black sheep of English families, sent out to redeem their characters in the sternest testing ground of the world. Many won through, but many more went under, to sink to the lowest depths of depravity and degradation. In the atmosphere of uncertainty and chance, gambling became the normal condition of life, and fortunes won by day were dissipated in a single night. In the shanties and hovels of the mining camp men acquired fabulous wealth, and all the vices of modern civilization were imported to pander to their lusts. Shabby little houses still stand in the by-streets of Johannesburg, sandwiched in between great warehouses, which in the memory of men not past middle age were the haunt of such fashionable dissipation as the place could afford.

The Witwatersrand was proclaimed a gold-field in 1886, but the hard-living pioneer did not monopolize the field for long. Once the mines had begun to produce their incalculable wealth, the more stable elements triumphed, and Johannesburg became the commercial centre, not of the Transvaal only, but of the whole of South Africa. As early as December, 1886, the Bishop was in treaty with S.P.G. for a grant towards a priest, and he announced that he had had "a site at the centre of the Witwatersrand Gold District promised . . . by the Government." The Churchmen on the Fields came together, and occasional services were held from November onwards. In January, 1887, the Bishop wrote that he was "now in a condition to offer to the Churchmen of Johannesburg a monthly service, and [might] soon be to offer one every fortnight." Very soon a permanent priest was needed, and the Bishop, at the suggestion of certain Kimberley men who had known his work on the Diamond Fields, wrote in May to the

Rev. J. T. Darragh to invite him to undertake the task. He arrived in June, and in November of that year was formally licensed to the charge of the mission of the Witwatersrand, an immense district that was coterminous with the Reef itself.

The priest who now came to the Transvaal was to be closely connected with the work of the Church in Johannesburg for the next twenty years. He was an Irishman, one of the select band of ardent spirits entitled to write T.C.D. after their names, with an Irishman's gifts and an Irishman's failings. A scholar and theologian of no mean standing,* adventurous to the point of rashness, as little tolerant of opposition as the Bishop himself, perhaps not disposed, in spite of his wisdom, to suffer fools gladly, of tremendous personality and sincere devotion to his Lord and Master, John Thomas Darragh was one of the most striking men attracted to the Gold Fields, and the Church in Johannesburg will remain in his debt to the end of time.

He collected around himself a band of devoted laymen, and was soon able to put himself at the head of a large staff. At the Synod of 1889 he appeared with four assistants, among them being Charles Barton Shaw, the father of mission work along the Reef, and Frank Hawkins Fisher, later Canon and Rector of Pretoria. The present Bishop of George, H. B. Sidwell, came to him as a schoolmaster in the early days and was made deacon on his recommendation. Schools for boys and girls were started under the auspices of the parish, and a nursing home, the first in the Transvaal, brought the East Grinstead sisters to South Africa. Convinced of the future of Johannesburg, Darragh bought property in strategic positions, pledging the credit of his mission to an alarming extent, and was only restrained by the caution of his Church Council of laymen. Of all the generous donors of the time mention must be made of P. W. Tracey, who at one time was con-

* Towards the end of his life he gained the degree of D.D. with a thesis on "The Resurrection of the Flesh."

tributing anonymously the major portion of the stipends of three separate clergy, to whom the Bishop turned invariably to borrow money for Church purposes, who made several large gifts, and who for long must have contributed well over £1,000 a year.

Though relations between priest and Bishop were friendly at the first, a feud developed which lasted as long as the two were face to face. It was a tragedy that crippled the work of the Church and did the Diocese incalculable harm, and the story is told here as an awful warning of the havoc that can be wrought in the noblest work by obstinacy and self-will. But it must be remembered that something more than personalities was at stake. Darragh was supported heart and soul by his laymen, even when they differed from him on points of doctrine and ceremonial, while the Bishop on his side could rely upon the support and countenance of the rest of the Transvaal. The dispute drew its origins from that perpetual jealousy between Johannesburg and the rest of the country which colours most of the disputes and intrigues—down even to those of sporting bodies—at the present day. The Rand was young and wealthy, and, with all the cocksureness of youth, was inclined to take some credit to itself for the wealth that lay beneath the surface. In all things—in Church as in State—it resented government or dictation from Pretoria, that sleepy, comfortable little town that still jogged along at the pace of the traditional ox-waggon. On its side, the capital, in State no less than in Church, looked with increasing hostility upon its parvenu rival, and endeavoured to enforce a superiority that was coming to be denied by the facts.

The Bishop was not only justly suspicious of the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*, but had acquired a very well-founded distrust in the continuance of any prosperity based upon the mines. At Barberton he had just seen the work of the Church dissipated to pay for injudicious optimism. The light-hearted borrowings and financial expedients of the Witwatersrand filled him with alarm,

and he had a horror of being called to face once more a crushing load of debt. The very serious depression of 1890 seemed to bear him out.

In that year, during Darragh's absence on sick leave, the Bishop was compelled to intervene to rescue the church at Jeppestown, where faults had been discovered in the title to the ground, and St. Mary's itself, the headquarters of the mission, on account of a building debt, from forced sale. He complained that the debts for which the church was responsible in Johannesburg amounted to £4,000, while those on the schools probably accounted for as much again. The result of the intervention was increased tendency on the part of the people of Johannesburg to manage their own affairs, and the use of ingenious expedients to prevent the intervention of the Diocesan Trustees.*

Friction also developed between the two on points of ceremonial. The Bishop, though something of a "ritualist" himself, was possessed of distinctly individual views, and published a diocesan "Use," inaccurately described as "of Ritual," which set out the ceremonial authorized by himself. Darragh, on the other hand, with an intensely logical Keltic mind, chafed at the Bishop's restrictions, which were often petty enough and based upon a somewhat uninspiring literal interpretation of the rubrics and canons of the English Church. The mission of the Witwatersrand became more and more self-centred, with its own finances, its own independent appeals in England (which reacted disastrously upon Diocesan funds), and its own selection of staff.

The Bishop, after preliminary skirmishes over church ornaments and the licenses of assistant priests, decided to split up the Mission, leaving only Johannesburg to Darragh, and to confide the new districts to priests more agreeable to himself. He was within his legal rights, as the boundaries of mission districts were, by the canons of the Diocese,

* One of these was to mortgage all new acquisitions, as the Trustees were forbidden to take over encumbered property.

at the discretion of the Bishop, but his decision could be construed only as a hostile act, and was countered by every artifice of Hibernian skill. Darragh maintained that the Bishop, in constituting the mission in 1887, had promised to make the whole Gold Field into a parish as soon as possible, and that his present action was a breach of faith. The Bishop stuck to his rights, and Darragh brought the matter up at Synod.

Synods had been developing a certain liveliness. As early as 1890—in Darragh's absence—a member "rose to a point of order on Synodical language, on which the Bishop ruled to proceed to business," a reference which was solemnly expunged from the minutes (though not so heavily as to render it illegible to future generations) by the Bishop next day. In 1891 the liveliness increased. The Witwatersrand Council submitted a memorial requesting its erection into a parish, a matter within the competence of Synod, but when it was proposed to give it precedence "the Bishop stated that he absolutely refused to allow the motion to be put to Synod." Criticism was also levied at the Diocesan Finance Board, and a Committee of Enquiry proposed. "The Bishop replied that he would be happy to accept a Committee, but could not accept the names proposed as not fairly representing the Synod." A little later he was moved to protest, rather pathetically, that "the present tone of the Synod seems to be that of questioning the whole past of the Diocese."

When the memorial came up in its proper place on the agenda, the Bishop from the chair moved the previous question, "and addressed Synod at length. Several of the clergy and laity also addressed the Synod." In the end, after a further motion from the Bishop to sit until the question was put had been passed *nem. con.*, the previous question was rejected by the House of Laymen by ten votes to eight. The debate continued next day on the original motion, and another "scene" is covered by the dispassionate words of the record: "At 11.30, on a point of order, the Bishop vacated the chair *pro tem.* to the

Prolocutor, discussion proceeded, and at 11.55 the Bishop resuming the chair, the house adjourned by motion." Apparently the Bishop had attempted to break up the debate by leaving the chair, which had then been occupied at once by the Prolocutor as Deputy Chairman. In the end the matter was delayed for a year, the *status quo* being allowed to remain in the meantime.

The next year was passed in armed truce, and matters came to a head with the Synod of 1892. Both parties, "Reef" and "country," had taken pains to secure their representatives, and each was equally indignant when the other accused it of trying to "pack" the Synod. The Bishop's Charge was unusually outspoken, sparing none of his opponents, and arousing indignant protests from among them. The first trial of strength came over the election to the Diocesan Finance Board. The result of the ballot was that "the Bishop refused to confirm the election of the Rev. J. T. Darragh for reasons which he stated at length." From his correspondence it seems that the technical reason for the Bishop's veto was that the establishment of a separate organization for raising funds in England, and the conduct of the priest in charge of the Witwatersrand in running his mission into debt, formed sufficient indication of his unfitness for membership of the Diocesan Finance Board.

After the adjournment for dinner the Bishop ruled the election out of order on the ground that the canon made no provision for a ballot, and the names were put seriatim to open vote. Darragh was again elected, and was again vetoed by the Bishop. A motion to adjourn the Synod for twelve months was rejected, but at 9.30 a proposal to adjourn *sine die* was carried, apparently by a single vote, and Synod broke up with nothing accomplished.

The affair caused considerable excitement, not only in Church circles, and articles appeared in the secular papers—*The Star* and *The Standard and Diggers News*—which criticized the autocracy of the Bishop in no measured terms. The Bishop blamed Darragh—unjustly enough,

for they merely represented the Johannesburg point of view —for inspiring these articles, and the situation was by no means relieved.

The Bishops of the Province were asked to intervene, and the Metropolitan, with the Bishops of Grahamstown and Bloemfontein, came to Johannesburg in November to enquire into the matter. Bousfield skilfully refused to accept arbitration except upon the two points on which he considered his position secure—the division of the mission, and the vetoing of Darragh. The decision of the Commission of Enquiry was in his favour on the question of the division of the mission of Witwatersrand—a matter clearly within his rights—but against him on the election of Darragh. Though he accepted the findings at first, the Bishop was by no means pleased with his brethren,* and actually drew up a formal protest reiterating all his previous contentions. He was able, however, to avoid most of the implications of the adjudication by adroit use of his prerogatives. Most of the funds of the Diocese were either collected for the Bishop oversea or vested in him personally, and these were withdrawn from the Diocesan Finance Board, while he moved the Diocesan Trustees to decline to take over the Johannesburg schools on the ground of their heavy liabilities. He then set to work to establish independent districts at various centres, Jeppestown, Doornfontein, and Germiston, which had formerly been worked from St. Mary's.

The feud between S. Mary's Parish Council and the Diocesan authorities still continued, however, and it would be as well to follow the matter to its end. The next great dispute arose over the trusts under which the Diocesan Trustees held certain properties in the centre of Johannesburg. The matter resolved itself into the question as to whether a new parish, cut off from an old one, has any claim to assets acquired by the undivided body. The

* Students of Church History will be amused by his comment—"The doings of the Bishops should be recorded as an addendum to the acts of the Latrocinium of Ephesus."

question does not often arise in South Africa, since the old parish is far more likely to possess debts than assets, but the foresight displayed by St. Mary's Council and its priest in charge, together with a certain measure of that good fortune that invariably follows the wise, had built up in the centre of Johannesburg a series of holdings which were increasing rapidly in value with the growth of the town. Were the outlying parishes entitled to a share in the spoils, and were the Diocesan Trustees, the registered legal owners, to dispose of this property in the interests of the whole? The matter was complicated by the desire of St. Mary's Council to sell the site of their church in Eloff Street in order to put up a new and more dignified building with the proceeds, on land not quite so favourably placed. This the Bishop had refused to sanction, maintaining that the church in Johannesburg should retain what was, in fact, the finest site in the town.* The Council of the neighbouring chapelry of Doornfontein also protested, since the proposed new site was almost on the boundary of their own ecclesiastical district.

The dispute dragged on until both parties agreed to accept the arbitration of the Metropolitan and two assessors. After the inevitable wrangle over the terms of the deed of submission the Court, consisting of the Metropolitan, Archbishop West Jones, the Dean of Grahamstown, the Very Rev. John Garraway Holmes, and H. F. Blaine, barrister-at-law, met at Johannesburg in January, 1899. Beside the principal parties to the suit, the parishes of Jeppestown, Booysens and Krugersdorp, and the chapelries of Doornfontein, Germiston, Roodepoort and Maraisburg, were also admitted to the arbitration and were legally represented.

To judge from the newspaper reports, the Diocesan Trustees were not particularly well served by counsel, who seemed to rely upon a literal interpretation of the legal ownership of the Trustees, without considering the

* This particular site had been acquired by the Bishop himself from the Government, before the appointment of Darragh.

terms of their trust, and upon a purely technical attempt to limit the pleading of his opponent and to prevent his leading evidence to the nature of the trust. Though the position of the proposed new church of St. Mary was one of the points in dispute, no alternatives were put forward, and the arbitrators, for lack of another, found themselves obliged to consent to a site of which they recorded their disapproval.

On the main point at issue the arbitrators found that the property in question was held by the Diocesan Trustees "on behalf of the parochial authorities of the chapelry of St. Mary's, Johannesburg, exclusively." Six stands, forming a compact block on one side of Eloff Street, were to be disposed of before the 31st December, 1904, for a sum of not less than £25,000, while the three stands on which the Church Hall stood might not be disposed of at all.

The award of the arbitrators was registered with the High Court and gained full binding legal force. The Boer War came before the six stands were disposed of, and after it they fetched, not £25,000, but £105,000. With the proceeds the parish built the present St. Mary's Hall, and on the site of the old Church Hall put up a block of shops and offices to produce revenue. With the funds thus acquired St. Mary's has made large contributions to the episcopal endowment of the Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg, and has provided the greater portion of the funds for the new Johannesburg Cathedral. St. Mary's Buildings in their turn have been sold, and the proposal is to invest most of the proceeds in Trustee securities.

Though their outcome has been happy these disputes were most unfortunate, not only as giving cause for the ungodly to blaspheme, but still more by breaking that bond of mutual trust and confidence that should have existed between the Bishop and the most brilliant of his priests. The real tragedy is that all these troubles could have been avoided by the exercise of a little tact and mutual forbearance. For much of the time no question of

principle was at stake, and there is no doubt that had either trusted the other, or if the disputants had not been continually egged on by reckless partisans on either side, the personal difficulties could have been settled in a few minutes' open conversation, and the legal question allowed to go to friendly arbitration without a scrap of ill-will on either side.

In spite of the legal atmosphere of his early days, the Bishop's experiences of litigation were unfortunate, and it would be as well to treat them all together.

The first was the matter of the Catechist Khunyana, who, under the Bishop's supervision, had gathered together a small congregation of natives in an old cottage in Proes Street, Pretoria. During the Bishop's absence in England in 1885 he collected certain sums from his congregation for the building of a church, which were deposited by Canon Kewley in a savings bank account in his own name and that of the catechist. When the work grew, the Bishop moved a European deacon to Pretoria and placed him over the mission, but friction developed. Although he blamed the European in private, the Bishop considered it his duty to support his authority, and the catechist and most of his congregation were snapped up by a "Free Baptist and Congregationalist" minister. The Bishop's letters to the reverend gentleman are extant, and are vigorous and to the point! Khunyana now claimed the money in the joint account, and it was awarded to him by the Landdrost's court. The higher court on appeal maintained that "substantial justice" had been done.

The second case dealt with the church and parsonage at Rustenburg. These had been built out of subscriptions from parishioners and grants from S.P.C.K. by one of the early priests, largely by his own labour. Later on he fell into intemperance, and after formal admonition was given leave of absence and then allowed to resign. Some time after he came forward with a claim for reimbursement of certain of his own moneys that had been expended on

the building, but was refused by the Bishop on the ground that as parish priest he had no right to commit the parish to any expense. A suit against the Bishop failed, but a new process against the congregation resulted in his being awarded over £200. This with costs brought the total up to nearly £600, or rather more, so it was said, than the church and parsonage were worth. The Bishop's first inclination was to let them both go, but in the end the Trustees raised a loan by bonding Diocesan properties in Pretoria and paid off the debt.

The third misfortune was connected with the mission station Molote. The unvarying ambition of each of the little scattered landless clans in the Transvaal was to acquire a farm, which the laws of the Republic forbade them to do. Prebendary Clulee worked among the kraals of the Potchefstroom district, suffering great privations from his scanty income. A solution to the troubles of his family and converts alike seemed promised by the purchase of a farm for the natives on which the missionary would have house and lands. In the end an agreement was entered into by the Diocesan Trustees with a chief Ratouw, apparently a heathen, by which the Trustees were to purchase and hold a farm in trust for his tribe, the purchase price to be paid in instalments by the chief, and a house and farming area reserved for a missionary of the church. Other natives (*i.e.*, Christian converts) might come to settle on the farm, but must accept the authority of the chief. In 1887 the first instalment was paid—in cattle—and occupation began. A house for the missionary and a native church were built out of grants from S.P.C.K. When the time for the second instalment came round the chief refused, alleging that he had already paid quite enough. Prebendary Clulee was in great distress, but the prevailing gold fever provided a way out. The prospecting rights of the farm were sold to a company, floated apparently by some of the Prebendary's friends in the Colony, and though nothing was found, the rest of the purchase price was paid off. On the death of

Prebendary Clulee in May, 1892, his place was taken by Alexander Temple, whom the Bishop appointed Archdeacon of Heidelberg. The chief, however, who had been genuinely attached to the previous missionary, objected to the change, and in particular to the ejection of Mrs. Clulee and her large family to make way for the new incumbent. The archdeacon, who certainly did not display any excessive degree of tact, was obliged to submit to all manner of trials and indignities, and he and his family were threatened with physical violence. The Christian natives were driven off the farm, one died mysteriously amid much talk of poison, and others, not always of the most law-abiding character, were encouraged to take their place. The climax came when the chief's son, engaged in cutting off the water supply from the mission lands, was soundly thrashed by Temple, against whom he won an action for assault before the Landdrost of Potchefstroom.

The Bishop exhorted the archdeacon to stand firm. "The farms . . . are duly conveyed to the Trustees, who are the absolute owners in law. The trust for the chief is a matter of honour and equity, unnoticed in the conveyance (as the law would not recognize it), whose terms and conditions are in the possession of the Trustees, as arranged by me before conveyance. . . . The residence of a Minister is the condition of our trust, and if not fulfilled, we should have to surrender the whole farm and scheme. The most definite arrangements were made as to the house, orchard and lands being the residence and provision for the support of the missionary."

In the end an action was brought against the Trustees to show cause why the farm should not be vested in the Superintendent of Natives unconditionally. The church authorities replied that they had no objection to the transfer so long as their own rights to the missionary's house were recognized. There seems to have been confusion, on the part of either the Bishop or the Judges, with another farm scheme that had been proposed but fell

through, while it appeared that Clulee, in his negotiations with the Company, had acted under a power of attorney obtained from the chief. These facts, together with the Bishop's unpopularity with the official class in the Republic, led to verdict being given for the chief, who thus obtained possession of the farm and the buildings of the mission station, without any conditions whatever, for a mere fraction of the actual cost. The archdeacon was forced to leave, the missionary's house was handed over by the chief to the Lutherans, and the church congregation among the natives was dispersed.

Most of these troubles descended upon the Bishop in the years between 1886 and 1892, but added to them all was a serious failure in the income produced by the two endowment funds. The greater part of the Bishopric and Clergy endowments had been transferred to South Africa for investment in 1882, where they brought in £381 and £310 a year respectively. Here they were under the management of the Provincial Trustees, but after a few years, owing partly to the commercial depression that affected the whole of South Africa, and partly to what seem to have been most unwise investments, the income was very considerably reduced. In 1886 the Bishop wrote that the amount due to the clergy was about £300, and to himself over £400, in each case roughly one year's income of the fund. The next year the total episcopal income was £480 16s. 10d., of which £180 was all that the investments could produce. To crown all, in 1890 Bank failures in the Cape Colony resulted in the further loss of £1,900 of the Bishopric endowment, and £800 of the Clergy Fund. On the other hand, expenditure did not diminish. In 1887, when the episcopal income was £480, the Bishop had travelled 3,000 miles by cart and on horseback, and his stable and office expenses combined—the latter were usually between £30 and £40 for the year—came to £410. Since the Bishop estimated the cost of "a travelling missionary" at from £200 to £300 a year and as often as not received hospitality for himself and his

horses, it seems that a horse was rather more expensive to keep than a priest!

The figures varied, of course, from year to year, but from the account that the Bishop rendered each month it seems that £30 a month of itineration, or £300 for the whole year, was a fair average of his travelling expenses. To meet these outgoings the Synod of 1889 established a "Diocesan Society," whose object was to assist the work of the Church in the smaller parishes, and a "Bishopric Guarantee Fund" to meet the specifically episcopal expenses, to which parishes were requested to contribute a quarter-tithe, or one-fortieth of their own income, per year. It was also suggested that the collections of one Sunday in the year should be devoted to strengthening the depleted Bishopric Endowment Fund.

Some record of the sums received from outside the Diocese may be interesting. Here the historian of the Diocese must bear grateful witness to the assistance of the two great societies—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—without which its work could not possibly have been carried on. In the early days there was no parish that did not receive some assistance from the funds of S.P.G.; the beginnings of the Witwatersrand Mission were helped by a grant of £100 a year, while the primitive buildings that represented the Church in the Transvaal invariably received a building grant from S.P.C.K. In 1883 the S.P.G. grant was £626—over and above the contribution of £300 to the Bishop's stipend—subscriptions from England reached £1,915, work sent from England to be sold fetched £69 clear, while contributions from Cape Town and Bloemfontein came to £233. In 1891 only £361 came from the English treasurers (the Bishop complained pitifully that the discovery of gold in the Transvaal had increased his needs and not diminished them, as Home subscribers seemed to think): S.P.G. gave £500 and S.P.C.K. £75, while work sent from England sold for £283. To these figures must be added £105

to the Bishopric Guarantee Fund from England, and £132 (including £100 from Mr. Tracey) from within the Diocese. In the fifteen months between October 1, 1896, and January 1, 1898 (the last period for which figures exist), English subscriptions accounted for £787, S.P.G. for £600, and S.P.C.K. for £480, while the Bishopric Guarantee Fund brought in £70 from oversea.

Finance was not the only trouble: it was not easy to get the right sort of men. Some who offered their services were fine characters, but stories of friction between the Bishop and his clergy deterred many, while there was a continuous stream of undesirables. Some drifted helplessly from Diocese to Diocese, until they found themselves at the furthest limit of the Anglican Communion—the Transvaal; others, detected in some lapse, had been shipped off by their friends, in the hope that they might make good somewhere where their history was unknown. It was seldom a success. The Transvaal was not an easy place to live in, and away from his friends and the steadying influence of his colleagues, many a well-meaning man went under. Constant troubles ranging from tragedy to scandal, with rare intervals of comedy, beset the Bishop. His own character and his difficulties alike are well illustrated by a letter enquiring into the antecedents of a volunteer that he wrote to a fellow prelate: "May I accept him? Is he worth accepting? If so, why do you part with him? . . . *Entre nous*, is he gone, or going, in the head? Your loving Brother, H. B. Pretor:" For a schoolmaster whose short term of office had not been happy he wrote a bare record of his service, and added the bitter words, "May he justify in another sphere the testimonials which secured his employment in this!"

But the history of the Diocese was not all litigation or scandal or finance. There was steady progress from the days of the Retrocession onwards, and though the true work of the Church cannot be set down in black and white, this progress left its mark in outward achievement.

In 1887 the congregation of Pretoria duly celebrated

the Jubilee of Queen Victoria by building the little brick porch that covers the west door of the cathedral, all that their scanty funds would allow. Strangely enough, it bears no record of the fact. In 1890 Synod approved of the surrender of the districts of Utrecht, Vryheid and Piet Retief to the Diocese of Zululand. Though politically within the South African Republic, both geographically and ethnologically they belonged to the seaward side of the Drakensbergen, with its Zulu population. At the same time Synod recorded that it saw "no objection to the diminution of this Diocese by the surrender of Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg to the proposed new see of Lydenburg and Barberton." The Provincial authorities were engaged in establishing a missionary Diocese for the coastal plain eastward of the Transvaal—the present Diocese of Lebombo—and it had been suggested that these two mountain districts would form a healthy headquarters for the Bishop and clergy, whose main work would be in the unhealthy flats. After looking over the ground Bishop Smythe decided that Amsterdam would prove more convenient, and Bishop Bousfield declared against the proposed withdrawal of territory. Barberton, after contemplating the prospect of becoming an episcopal city, fell back regretfully into its accustomed obscurity.

In 1890 the cathedral was enlarged, still in red brick, though slightly more ecclesiastical in style, by the addition of a chancel to the existing railway-shed nave.* At the same time an organ was installed, the gift of Mr. H. W. Struben, and the Bishop was able to proceed with the formation of what he had long had in mind—a Diocesan Choirs Association and the holding of a choir festival. With Canon Fisher as Precentor, one or two festivals were actually held, at which choirs came together from Pretoria and the Reef.

In 1891 Synod, on the Bishop's proposal, created two archdeaconries: the one of Potchefstroom, with charge

* The addition was part of a big scheme for putting up a handsome building, for which designs were actually prepared.

of the parishes and districts in the Western Transvaal, which was conferred on Alfred Roberts, whose steady service since the establishment of the Diocese thus received some recognition; the other, taking its title from Heidelberg, included the rest of the Transvaal outside Pretoria, together, by what seems a mischievous freak of episcopal humour, with the whole district of the Witwatersrand. This was conferred upon Alexander Temple, who was stationed first at Molote, and then in charge of the work at Krugersdorp.

In 1895 Synod met again for the first time since the great struggle of 1892. One of its proposals was the substitution of the title rector or priest in charge for that of curate. The Bishop "expressed himself very fully," but finally gave in, pleading, however, for the retention of his beloved word "curate" for chapelries. This was agreed to, and "curate" the head of St. Mary's, Johannesburg, remained until after the Boer War.

In 1896 the old Bishop's Cote, which had been the episcopal residence since Bishop Wilkinson's days, was sold for £3,300. Though "the best house in the town" at the time of its purchase, it had never been convenient, and the district in which it stood was sinking in repute. A new residence was bought, near the cathedral and schools, for more than £6,000. The new house was larger than the old, with a pleasant garden, and stood in what was then a fashionable part of the town, but the difference in price, which had to be found in the end out of Diocesan funds, was left as a mortgage on the new house, and was a serious charge upon the episcopal revenue.

The year 1899 marked the completion of twenty-one years of Bishop Bousfield's rule, and in the Occasional Paper of that year he attempted some sort of a review of his achievement. In Pretoria itself he looked upon a cathedral enlarged, with a staff of three canons: F. H. Fisher as Rector of the Parish and Precentor; H. B. Sidwell, Chancellor and Head of the School; and E. Farmer,

Canon Evangelist. The two schools, St. Etheldreda's for girls and St. Birinus for boys, after many vicissitudes, seemed safely established in fairly presentable buildings of their own. Constant changes of principal had hampered the development of each, but now, under Miss Reid and Canon Sidwell respectively, they gave promise of steady development.

In the Diocese itself priests were stationed at Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Rustenburg, Lydenburg, Barberton, Middelburg, Heidelberg, Wakkerstroom and Pietersburg; while churches or chapels existed in Pilgrim's Rest, Belfast, Standerton and Volksrust as well. At Christiana, though the village was almost deserted,* the church still stood, and land was owned at Nylstroom, though there was no building for the occasional services that were held in the village. The "Reef," as always, was a place apart. Churches existed and services were held at Johannesburg, Jeppestown, Fordsburg, Doornfontein, Booysens, Maraisburg, Krugersdorp, Germiston, Boksburg and Springs. At the Synod of 1896 a member had asked what parishes in the Diocese were self-supporting and needed no assistance from Diocesan funds. The reply was: "Pretoria, Doornfontein, Thorndale, Jeppestown, Barberton, St. Mary Johannesburg, Booysens, Pilgrim's Rest, Fordsburg, Boksburg, Roodepoort, and Germiston. "But these four last," the Bishop added, "receive great assistance from a benefactor, the amount of whose generous gifts makes him equal to all boards together."

The Bishop's review was an omen. Although he looked forward to steady development, and the Synod that met in August of 1899 seems to have had no sense of impending fate, the Diocese had actually arrived at the end of an age. Two months later the British population was in flight, the Bishop and most of the clergy had had warning to leave, and all Church work was at a standstill.

* The South-West Transvaal was hard hit by the decision of the Republican authorities to bring the railway line through the Free State, instead of continuing that from Kimberley.

Relations between English and Dutch had remained tolerable so long as the latter were supreme. The influx of population to the Gold Fields threatened to upset the balance, and the inhabitant of the Transvaal, still of the old Trek-Boer type, found his somnolent Arcadia endangered by the bustle of modern progress. It is one of the grimmest ironies of history that the men who, almost alone among Europeans, deliberately turned their backs upon civilization should have been faced with the problems raised by the outbreak of the Witwatersrand in their midst. Mutual distrust led to friction, eagerly fanned by those who looked for personal advantage from the conflict. To make matters worse, the State President, that Kruger whose early fame had rested upon his conciliatory abilities as much as his courage, was much in the hands of the State Secretary, W. J. Leyds, a Hollander with no personal stake in the country, to whom the whole business was largely a keen battle of wits.

The appalling, criminal blunder of the Jameson Raid increased the feeling of tension, and justified those who believed that the Rand must be kept down by force. South Africa slipped rapidly down the sharp declivity that leads to war. When it came the bulk of the British subjects fled, and most of the remainder were put across the border. The Bishop expected to be allowed to stay at his post, but some friction with the authorities—over the commandeering of his horses, so the story goes—resulted in his being warned to leave. The last letter in his book for 1899 is a request to Archdeacon Roberts, who acted as Vicar-General during his absence, to do what he could for the Diocese.

Eight priests remained behind, two of whom found themselves in jail before the end of the war through ill-timed enthusiasm for the British cause. Services were kept going in the chief centres, often by laymen; Father Shaw and the Rev. Mr. Perry of Jeppestown were left in Johannesburg; while services were kept on at the cathedral by the Rev. J. R. Godfrey. The Vicar-General was

allowed to move about the country without much hindrance, and kept the work of the Church alive. But only a remnant was left, and little could be done.

After the occupation of Pretoria the Bishop was anxious to return, but was kept at the coast by the military authorities until July of 1901. For the few months that he was back the guerilla war was raging and no constructive work was possible. He visited Cape Town for the Episcopal Synod in February, 1902, and died suddenly one evening in his chair.

CHAPTER V

BISHOP CARTER AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE DIOCESE

ECCLESIASTICAL organization was not the only sufferer by the three years of war that raged from 1899 to 1902. The economic structure of the land was wrecked by the guerilla strife that carried the horrors of war into its every corner. Each farmstead was a fortress and every inhabitant a soldier: houses were destroyed, the lands lay untilled, the cattle were slaughtered. Railway lines and bridges were systematically wrecked and roads fell into disrepair.

Into this area, which had forgotten the meaning of steady labour, an agricultural country where for years eggs and butter, and even fruit, had to be imported from oversea, came a new wave of immigration. A large proportion was composed of Government servants, imported to set in order the machine which had been overthrown by years of war, who took the place of the Hollander officials of the Kruger régime. There were the inevitable misfits, mediocrities and failures, but taken as a whole, from the little group of brilliant University men who surrounded the High Commissioner and gained the nickname, half-contemptuous, half-envying, of "Milner's Kindergarten," downwards, the new men represented some of the best elements in British national life. Some stayed only a short time, passing on to other fields of imperial service. Most, however, settled down to make their homes in South Africa. English-speaking people, whether newcomers or migrants from the older colonies of the south, penetrated into every corner of the Transvaal, and the Church had to follow them.

The problem before it was immense. The Diocese

had been understaffed before the Boer War, the influx of newcomers found it with depleted numbers and an organization in ruins. The continuity of parochial life was destroyed, institutions had collapsed, the itinerating system for dealing with the country districts came to an end. New population meant new buildings, and congregations in a country whose economic life was at a standstill were faced with the necessity for heavy capital expenditure.

Bishop Bousfield died a few months before the final peace. On Sunday, June 8, a service was held on the great Church Square at Pretoria to celebrate its signing. Lord Kitchener was determined on securing the presence of the Metropolitan, Archbishop West Jones, who was on a visitation in the Karroo and felt disinclined to break it for the long journey to Pretoria. The Commander-in-Chief, on the other hand, had made up his mind, and the Archbishop received telegram after telegram of increasing urgency, ending with the arrival of a special train. He gave way and reached Pretoria just in time for the service. His coming was justified by the event. The old Archbishop rose magnificently to the occasion, and the memory of that day persists with many who are not easily moved.

The Diocese was vacant at a critical moment, and the Archbishop took the somewhat unusual step of appointing, first the Bishop of Zululand (Carter) and second Bishop Gibson, his own coadjutor at Cape Town, as Vicars-General to administer the See. The Elective Assembly of the Diocese met, under the presidency of Archdeacon Roberts as Senior Priest, and, as the Archbishop himself had hoped, was unanimous in the choice of the Bishop of Zululand, who was translated and enthroned in Pretoria Cathedral in November, 1902.

William Marlborough Carter, the new Bishop, who was to steer the Diocese of Pretoria through the most critical years of its existence, differed in many ways from his predecessor. Not possessed of that stature that led *Punch* on one occasion to declare that the Diocese of

Pretoria, if judged from its choice of Bishops, was clearly infected with *High* Churchmanship, quiet and unassuming, where other occupants of the See have been forceful or good-naturedly overwhelming, he has not always had full credit for his great achievement. It is true that the country was wealthy, but it was by no means uniformly prosperous. The great depression that followed the post-war "boom" hit the Church hard and crippled the work, while Bishop Bousfield's experience had shown how difficult it was to arouse Johannesburg's wealthy people to a sense of their duties. He was assisted, too, by brilliant men, but it is not the least of his qualities that he was able to collect and to work with a staff which has never been equalled in the history of the South African Church. He it was who chose Michael Furse as Archdeacon of Johannesburg to reorganize the work of the Reef: under him Wilfred Gore-Browne developed the work in Pretoria, and Archdeacon Sidwell organized the Eastern Transvaal. Through all this the Bishop, though never putting himself forward, did not abdicate his own position, whether in Johannesburg, Pretoria, or the country districts, but co-ordinated and directed the work to a whole. It was an achievement that many men of a brilliance more spectacular would have good cause to envy.

The clergy had been trickling back to their charges since the occupation of the Transvaal. The story is told of Darragh that, having been refused permission to return by all the possible military officials, he managed somehow to secure—"wangled" is the expressive modern word—appointment as a Chaplain to the Forces. In due course his regiment reached Johannesburg, where Darragh achieved his own dismissal in disgrace for some technical offence. He then settled down in the town and went about his parochial duties unhindered. None the less, and in spite of the efforts made by Bishop Gibson as Vicar-General to fill the vacant cures, when the new Bishop arrived there were only twenty-six clergy in the Transvaal as against thirty in the last year before the war.

The chief characteristics of the period following the Boer War were the centralization of the diocesan administration and the increasing importance of Johannesburg. The new Bishop realized that it was impossible to administer a rapidly growing Diocese with no central financial organization. The Bishopric was further handicapped by the mortgage of £4,000 still remaining on the Bishop's house, the interest on which made heavy inroads into the scanty income of the See.

In January of 1903 a meeting was held in a private house in Johannesburg, with Sir Godfrey Lagden in the chair, to consider the stipend of the Bishopric, and £1,000 was raised to carry on for the time being. On April 23, after he had been five months in the Diocese, the Bishop was present at a meeting held in the house of Mr. Tracey —the very good friend of the Church—and explained his needs. He estimated that another 50 clergy were required over and above the 26 then at work, and £8,500 to support them until they settled down, 53 new churches and sites, and an extra-parochial archdeacon to carry on the routine work of organization. The result of this meeting was the foundation of the Diocesan Central Fund, which started with a donation of £1,000 from Mr. Tracey, and a promised subscription of £500 a year each for five years from Sir George Farrar and Mr. R. R. Hollins. The two latter also promised £100 a year to the Bishopric Endowment Fund.

The intention of the Fund was to provide a staff for the adequate working of the Diocese, and to enable grants to be made to centres that were not yet able to support themselves. To the post of extra-parochial archdeacon, taking his title from Johannesburg, the Bishop in October, 1903, appointed Michael Bolton Furse, of whom more will be said later. He secured a peculiar hold in the affections of Johannesburg (it was reputed that the purses of the wealthy never failed to open at his demand), and threw himself with great zest into the organization of the Diocese on business lines. The Diocesan Central Fund

was his own particular care. The great increase in Diocesan work and Diocesan finance demanded the establishment of a central office, and towards the end of 1903 the Diocesan headquarters were transferred from Pretoria, where Mr. A. P. Field had done the work of the simpler organization of Bishop Bousfield's days at a cost of a few pounds, to Johannesburg. The immediate additional expense was over £500 a year, but in the long run the organization has justified itself. Through it all Archdeacon Furse never forgot the spiritual object of his work, and did not allow the Diocese to forget it either, but there is always a danger lest the administration should fall into the hands of a lesser man, with whom the collection of elaborate statistics regarding communicants, male and female, and the precise amount collected per head in each parish for capital funds, general expenses, trust funds and the like, might become an end in itself, destroying the very purpose of its existence.

The transference of the Diocesan Office was the outward sign of the economic supremacy of Johannesburg. Bishop Bousfield had not been able to make much headway on the Reef, and his appeals for funds never met with an adequate response. The new Bishop was more successful, the new Archdeacon achieved something like a triumph, and it was only natural that the Diocesan headquarters should move to the economic centre. Not only was the Diocesan Central Fund very largely a matter of Johannesburg subscriptions, and the Bishop able to interest the great mining houses in mission work, but St. Mary's, whose relations with the Diocese had never been altogether happy in the old days, now came forward with generous support. On the sale of their property in the latter part of 1903 the Parish Council made a contribution of £5,000 to the Bishopric Endowment Fund, which was used to clear off the encumbrances on its property, and promised to pay a pound for every pound contributed to the fund from other sources, up to the amount of a further £5,000.

A proposal that the episcopal throne itself should be transferred to Johannesburg from Pretoria had been made in the Press in February of 1902, just after the death of Bishop Bousfield, the suggested bait being a new cathedral and adequate endowment. Pretoria, which had just succeeded in rescuing the dignity of the capital itself from its sister town, took up the challenge, in language more forcible than polite, claiming that it would remain "when the now insolently prosperous stand township of Johannesburg may have become a refuge for the owls and bats." Bishop Carter, however, declined to move, and though, like Bishop Bousfield, he found it convenient to spend some time in Johannesburg, where he had rooms, Pretoria was his headquarters throughout his episcopate.

As early as 1889 Synod passed a resolution that "an occasional session should be held at Johannesburg," and suggesting that the next Synod should meet there. Nothing came of the proposal, but after the Boer War it was raised once more. While the number of parishes on the Reef which were entitled to representation had increased considerably, the numbers from the north were but little changed, and the railways of the country tended increasingly to make the Witwatersrand their centre. The opening of the new St. Mary's Hall provided a suitable place of meeting, and in 1908 the Synod met in Johannesburg for the first time. From that year onward until the division of the Diocese the rule was that it should meet alternately in each town.

The idea of parochial contributions to central funds was not altogether new in the Diocese—Bishop Bousfield had done his best to vanquish the deadly parochialism of his time by persuading parishes to contribute a Sunday's collections each year to S.P.G. and the Bishopric Guarantee Fund. He had not been altogether successful, and his successor was face to face with a generation of newcomers, many of whom had come from England—it was in the days before the Enabling Act

and Diocesan Assessments—and to whom the idea of regular giving for any Church purpose was a novelty.

The first Synod after the Boer War—the Fourteenth of the Diocese—met in May, 1903, and established the new Archdeaconry of Johannesburg: before the next were laid proposals from the reconstituted Diocesan Finance Board, of which the new Archdeacon was the driving force. These proposals were notable as containing the principle, dear to the Archdeacon's heart, of a minimum wage for the clergy. This the Board fixed at £500 a year and a house for married priests, and £300 a year for deacons—barely a living wage at any time, but even now not yet realized in practice. It suggested, further, that the Bishop should receive £2,000 and his house, and the Archdeacon £800, a house, and travelling expenses. There was no thought as yet of breaking down the system of the employment of clergy by the parishes, but the Finance Board hoped, out of the Central Fund, to be able to make grants towards the thirty-one clergy receiving less than £500 a year (of whom sixteen received between £300 and £400 and six less than £300) and to assist smaller parishes to support a priest.

Synod passed a resolution that each parish should pay the amount of one Sunday collection in each year to each of the following objects: (*a*) The Bishopric Stipend and Endowment Fund; (*b*) the Diocesan Central Fund, for the payment of staff and for extension purposes; (*c*) native and coloured work; and (*d*) the Clergy Pension Fund. A hint of developments to come was contained in the proposal carried by the Archdeacon of Johannesburg that before a priest was licensed to a cure a definite agreement should be come to by Bishop and Parish Council prescribing (*a*) a fixed stipend to the priest, (*b*) the monthly settlement of dues to the Diocesan Office, and (*c*) the payment of the priest's stipend by a monthly cheque.

The next Synod, meeting in June of 1905, heard the Archdeacon of Johannesburg again on the Central Fund,

and passed a resolution affirming the principle that each clergyman should be entitled to three Sundays' holiday a year and that a priest should be appointed to do relieving duty. Two years later Synod laid down that six months' furlough on full pay should be granted to clergy who had served five years in the Diocese.

The principle of a Central Fund gained acceptance through its very reasonableness, in spite of the parochialism which is by no means extinct today. The Report for 1904 was able to print the following table:

FUNDS RAISED

	Parochially.	*By D.C.F.*	*Total.*
	£	£	£
1898	12,500	197	12,697
1903	27,532	2,049	29,581
1904	36,900	4,940	41,840

Things seemed better, however, than they really were. The contributions to the Diocesan Central Fund came mostly from a few individuals and corporations—only twenty-nine altogether in 1904—parochial collections for the Fund brought only £309, while six churches and missions provided £105 to the Bishopric Stipend Fund.

The Archdeacon kept at his task, the number of contributors steadily grew, public opinion was gradually educated to the duties of Church members, and in 1908 a clause was added to the Diocesan Regulations, then in process of revision, laying down the principle that every parish should contribute one-tenth of its normal revenue (excluding building funds) to the needs of the Diocese. The principle was not entirely new. Certain parishes—Doornfontein and Belfast seem to have been among the first—had already begun to contribute the tithe, or some smaller proportion, of their income, but it was a remark-

able achievement, and no mean victory over particularism, to secure official recognition of the principle.

The new rule had one very far-reaching result: Synod became a taxing body, accounts for the past and estimates for the ensuing year were regularly submitted to it, and the budget speech of the Bursar, and Committee of the Whole House to consider the Estimates—with either the Chancellor or Registrar in the Chair—became important features of the Synod.

The enactment of the regulation did not mean that tithes were always paid. The Church is a voluntary institution; there were many hard cases; parishes might just be able to find the necessary five or six hundred a year to carry on, but could not face the additional £50 or £60 demanded by tithe. Applications by parishes for remission grew to be a regular incident of Synod, and the impassioned pleas of their representatives were heard with respect, or incredulity not always polite, by the rest of the House, who were, it must be remembered, tithe-payers themselves. The writer retains the picture of one parish priest, a Scot, the grimness of whose words was relieved by a twinkle in his eye, who announced on behalf of his parish that they had, by a desperate effort, paid off their liabilities to the Diocese, and were going to see that other parishes paid up too! The striking fact is not the malingering, though this probably existed in isolated cases, but the conscientious way in which parishes, even when their requests for remission had been refused in open Synod, set to work and did their level best to pay their obligations.

The earliest instance of Estimates being submitted to and passed by Synod appears to have been in 1907, when a Committee of the Whole House allotted £1,600 to the Bishopric*—the amount the Bishop had decided to take instead of the £2,000 voted by Synod in 1904—£975 to the extra-parochial archdeacons, £600 to the Registrar and Secretary, and £645 to cover the expenses

* This included travelling expenses.

of the Diocesan Office, £1,740 in grants toward work among Europeans and to schools, and £1,450 (including £600 received from S.P.G.) for native and coloured work. It may be doubted whether any justification existed for Synod's assumption of control over Trust Funds, such as the Bishopric Endowment, but it was most valuable that the lay representatives of the Diocese should realize their responsibility for the Church as a whole, and the duty of supporting its corporate work.

Much of the advance of these years was material, and could thus be measured in those statistics beloved of Diocesan Offices, but which more than once drew a protest in Synod that they overlooked the very reason for the existence of the Church. The first Report of the Diocese (July, 1904) claimed that in the eighteen months preceding 37 clergy had been added to the staff of the Diocese, 12 fresh districts opened up and provided with resident clergy, 4 permanent and 3 temporary churches built, 3 churches enlarged, while 2 churches and 3 parish halls were in course of erection. In 34 places there were one or more resident clergy, while in 72 others services were held at regular intervals. In the next year 6 new districts were provided with clergy and 11 churches and church halls were completed; in 1906, 3 districts received resident clergy and 8 churches and 2 parsonages were built or enlarged,; in 1907, 2 new districts were opened up and 3 churches, 2 parish halls, 1 parsonage and 2 schools built. Meanwhile the amount raised by the Diocesan Central Fund was over £5,000 each year, building funds in 1907 brought in £9,106, and the total sum raised for Church purposes in the Transvaal was £43,239. This was over and above the Pan-Anglican Thankoffering Fund, which had been collected in the past two or three years and amounted to £7,429.

In 1904 an additional extra-parochial archdeacon was appointed, H. B. Sidwell, who was given the task of organizing the Church in the agricultural areas of the Eastern Transvaal. Between February and May of 1905

he travelled, by cart, by coach, and by rail, a distance of over twelve hundred miles, visiting such places as Carolina, Ermelo and Volksrust. His task was to discover the centres of Church population, map out the country into districts, and obtain guarantees for the support of a priest. After two years the pioneering work was done, the Diocese found it necessary to economize, and the Archdeacon, still retaining his office, returned to the Headmastership of the Diocesan School.

Shortly after his election the Bishop took the momentous step of inviting the Community of the Resurrection to take up work in the Diocese. The Church in the Transvaal thus received the services of a body of men who, through the discipline of their organization and the economy of their working, formed an unequalled instrument in the hands of the central authorities. Men of high intellectual standing, and a devotion testified by the self-sacrifice of their lives, they insensibly raised the whole conception of the priesthood among clergy and laity alike. Going wherever they were ordered without the complication of family ties or personal predilections, and needing no more than bare subsistence for their support, they formed a compact body whose activities could be directed and organized as a whole. The best testimony to the quality of their labours is that of the five who first came from Mirfield two were afterwards raised to the episcopate. Their duties were varied, and at times they seem to have been the residuary legatees of all the odd jobs of the Diocese. Three undertook white work, of whom one edited the Diocesan Magazine—the *Anglican*, known later as the *Kingdom*—acted as examining chaplain to the Bishop, and organized theological reading for clergy and for candidates for ordination. Another became known as a preacher who combined deep devotion with acceptability, and an unequalled teacher of children. They all acted as a sort of relieving staff when parish clergy were sick or away on holiday, and kept up services at little places that could not support a priest;

but the most valuable side to their work was the preaching of missions and the conducting of retreats, not necessarily in the Transvaal. This served to keep the idea of a fuller spiritual life before the parochial clergy and their workaday congregations. The other two members of the Community were engaged in native work along the Reef.

In 1905 the Community was asked by the Bishop to undertake the charge of St. John's College. The school had been founded by J. T. Darragh in connection with St. Mary's Parish in 1898. The Boer War naturally brought its activities to an end, but it was revived soon after the British occupation and housed in temporary wood and iron buildings near the centre of the town. Numbers rose to 200 by Christmas, 1902, but when the Government opened a High School with very much better accommodation and equipment they began to fall. In 1903 St. Mary's Council paid off the debt on the buildings, some £2,000, and a committee of its vestry took over the management. In January, 1904, numbers had dropped to seventy, and St. Mary's decided to give up the school. It was taken over by the Diocesan Board of Education, but did little more than exist for another year. The Community undertook the charge, the Rev. James Okey Nash, the present Coadjutor of Cape Town, became Headmaster, and the school, after going through some hard times, won through successfully. In 1906, largely through the generosity of Sir Thomas Cullinan, a site, almost unequalled in South Africa, was acquired in the Houghton Estate—in those days outside Johannesburg—and buildings were put up from the designs of Sir Herbert Baker. Since then the school has gone steadily forward, an abiding testimony to the kinship of Faith and Learning, and the Community that is responsible for its working can desire no finer monument than the block of buildings, dominated by the mighty chapel, that look out from the hillside towards the north.

The other great work of the Community has been the

organization of the mission work of the Church along the Reef. This has been described elsewhere, but in Rosettenville, on the opposite side of Johannesburg, to St. John's College rises another collection of buildings, St. Peter's Priory and the College for training native catechists and priests, which bear testimony to the activity—sometimes even physical—of these modern monks in the building tradition of their predecessors of long ago.

The other Community introduced by Bishop Carter was the women's Community of St. Mary the Virgin, usually known from the headquarters of the order as the Wantage Sisters. St. Etheldreda's School in Pretoria did actually manage a sort of continuity through the Boer War, though with only a handful of girls. After the war Miss Reid, the Headmistress, returned, but its revival, like that of St. John's, was checked by the establishment of Government schools. These, with all the resources of Government behind them, new buildings, new equipment, a specially imported staff, and nominal fees that did not nearly meet their actual expenditure, were a rival that the private schools in antiquated buildings, their equipment, such as it was, dispersed or destroyed during the Boer War, could not possibly meet on equal terms. Numbers dropped, Miss Reid resigned, and the Bishop, in the hope of saving a valuable possession for the Church, called in the Wantage Sisters. They took over the school in September, 1903, when there were twenty-nine names on the books. The complete break with the Diocese before the war is illustrated by the fact that the newcomers did not realize the former importance of the school and only learned of its numbers from the chance discovery of an old photograph.

The pioneer sisters had their hard times. In face of Government competition fees could not be raised to meet expenses, and it was only the fact that the Sisters were unpaid, and cheerfully doubled the parts of teaching and domestic staff, that enabled the school to come through. Numbers gradually crept up, boarders were

taken, and the school enlarged from time to time by the addition of dormitories and class-rooms costing some thousands of pounds. The Jubilee year of the Diocese has seen it established in new quarters, unpaid for as yet, on a fine site on the outskirts of the town, and it can now claim to have established itself at last.

The other work of the Wantage Sisters was the House of Mercy. The subject of purity, suggested by the appalling moral conditions of Johannesburg, came up more than once in Synod in the days before the war. Nothing was done until the days of Bishop Carter, when in September, 1904, three of the Wantage sisterhood began a rescue home in a hired house in Pretoria. The need for the work was at once apparent, and the house filled. After two moves in Pretoria itself in search of larger accommodation, the House of Mercy acquired a fine site at Irene, nine miles out from town, on the Johannesburg railway line. Buildings were put up and occupied soon after Easter, 1909, though with a debt of nearly £3,000.* A fuller account of their work will be found in a later chapter.

The Church in the Transvaal owes much to the religious order. The East Grinstead Sisters have worked in the Diocese for many years—J. T. Darragh stipulated for their use when he first accepted the invitation to the Witwatersrand. Their first work had been nursing, but in January, 1901, while the Boer War was still raging, Darragh started a school for girls under the auspices of the parish and asked the Sisters to take control. The school started with twelve pupils, an enrolment which by June, 1904, had reached forty-six. It went through the usual vicissitudes of Church schools at this time, suffering considerably through the absence of suitable buildings, but, as a parochial venture, receiving the support of St Mary's. In August, 1905, the school moved into larger quarters, and in 1912 into new buildings, and settled down to a period of steady, if uneventful, work.

* A large donation was made by the Beit Trustees.

The East Grinstead Sisters are also responsible for the foundation of St. Mary's Orphanage. This, too, was a parochial undertaking of St. Mary's, and for long was supported almost entirely by its congregation. It was, however, the only English Church orphanage in the Transvaal, and from the time of its foundation in 1901 served the whole Diocese. In 1907 the orphanage left its hired premises in Turffontein for a site of its own in Rosettenville, given by his family in memory of the late Mr. Hocking. Here for long it was housed in temporary buildings of wood and iron, but these were gradually replaced by others designed by Mr. Fleming. Here again its history has been one of steady progress, and an account of its present condition will be found "in another place."

The one great disaster of the time was the failure of the Diocesan School for Boys in Pretoria, that St. Birinus School which was founded by Bishop Bousfield in 1879. The circumstances deserve very careful consideration by anyone with the interests of the Church at heart. Just before the Boer War the school seemed to have established itself at last. New buildings were put up in 1896, with master's house and accommodation for boarders, a new laboratory built and equipped, and numbers had risen to an average of 140. The only difficulty was a bond of £3,250 on the school buildings. Then came the war, the school was occupied by the military police, first Boer and then British, much damage was done, and the laboratory with its £200 worth of new equipment wrecked. The school was reopened in June, 1901, with 33 boys, and numbers gradually rose to 145. But difficulties were great. The much-maligned South African Republic used to pay a grant of £250 annually, which went a long way towards meeting the interest on the building loans; the State Railways had been accustomed to grant the privilege of travelling half-price to pupils and staff; and the Government had actually made arrangements to supply books and school furniture at half-price when the war broke out. All this

the new Colonial Government, with its own High Schools springing up in the town, refused to do. The Diocesan School was faced with the need for new equipment, a new gymnasium and playing-fields, and an efficient staff, over and above the necessary repairs to the building and interest on the old loans.

For some time Canon Sidwell, the Headmaster, practically kept the school going out of his own pocket, and his personal reputation secured support. His appointment as Archdeacon of Pretoria was followed by a fall in numbers, and his successors proved unable to deal with the situation. The shortfall of £500 for 1905 was made good out of the funds of the Diocese, and next year it received £200 out of the Beit bequest. Archdeacon Sidwell returned to control in 1907, but things had been allowed to go too far for recovery. The school cost the Diocese over £400 a year, and could not be said to be serving any useful purpose. In October, 1908, it was decided to abandon it, and the buildings were leased to the Education Department as a primary school.*

The Church thus lost her footing in Pretoria, and all the fruits of the foresight and energy of Bishop Bousfield. It has been left to another religious body in recent years to work up a flourishing school where she had failed. The cause of the failure was sheer inability to meet the competition of Government schools. The disadvantage of the buildings and their load of debt might have been faced, but the real difficulty was to maintain an adequate staff. Canon Sidwell could do much, but he could not do everything. It is significant that those Anglican schools that actually survived the testing time of the early days, and the recently successful school in Pretoria, are all carried on by religious orders. Good workers can only be obtained by paying high wages or none at all, and unless the Church can rely upon the whole-hearted

* The decision to abandon the institution was arrived at by the Diocesan Board of Finance while Bishop Carter was in England attending the Lambeth Conference.

sacrifice and devotion of unpaid workers, there seems to be no possibility of maintaining her schools. Mediocrity may seem cheap, but it invariably means expensive collapse. If Church schools are to survive they must be more efficient than their rivals; no amount of good intentions will save them if they fail to provide parents with value for their money.

The loss of the Diocesan College was the only serious setback to the Church during Bishop Carter's rule. The time was one of the constant introduction of new institutions rather than of abandonment. Among these was the South African Church Railway Mission. An account of the work follows later, but in these early days it did particularly valuable work in keeping touch with the gangers and officials in lonely stations and isolated families along the line. The Railway Mission van, an ancient railway coach jerking uncomfortably along at the end of a goods train, became a common sight.

Another development was in the use of laymen as readers to keep services going in the absence of a priest. Voluntary workers of this sort had rarely been used by Bishop Bousfield. One or two schoolmasters were stationed in towns that could not support a priest, and were licensed and drew a salary as catechists, but his experience of such men was not always happy. None the less the use of the voluntary lay worker seems inevitable at the present day. If a single priest has to serve a number of little congregations he cannot give any one of them more than occasional attention. While he is away services must either be abandoned or carried on by laymen. Bishop Furse went further and was a believer in the positive value of lay work of this kind; as Archdeacon he did his best to stimulate and develop it. The February number of the *Kingdom* for 1905 contains an article from his pen discussing its possibilities and outlining a suggested course of reading and examination. Lay work has developed much of late years, and it is interesting to notice that much of this is the direct result

of improved methods of transport. When roads were almost impassable and the expensive cart and horses with their limited range the only means of progression the parish priest seldom left his station, and the itinerant work of the Diocese was carried on by one or two special clergy. Now that roads have improved and cheap motor transport is more readily available, a single priest covers a much wider area and can get at tiny congregations that would have been overlooked before. He can no longer spend every Sunday at his headquarters, and his place must be taken by the voluntary lay reader.

One other important development of policy came about during Bishop Carter's episcopate. This was the summoning for February, 1905, of a Diocesan Native Conference. It belongs properly to the organization of the native work under his rule, but is important as showing a definite stage in that task.

A change was coming over the Synods, and their outlook on life became distinctly more cheerful. Breezes still ruffled the placid stream of debate—there was one heated discussion in the Synod of 1914 between the Bishop (Furse) and a polemical Scot as to what exactly constituted obstruction! But these were only temporary differences, very often only half-serious, very different from the long-standing vendettas of an earlier day. Instances creep into the minutes of conscious humour, a little heavy at times, like most official trifling, but of rather better quality than that of the judicial humorists who provide occupation for the newspaper reporters of the Old Country.

At the Synod of 1908 the Archdeacon of Johannesburg (Furse) gave notice of a question demanding what steps were to be taken to recover "hats and surplices and coats which are left in presumably a place of safety in the basement of St. Mary's." The Bishop's reply expressed regret at the loss of wearing apparel by the clergy, but stated that personal enquiry had satisfied him that these things did not happen in laymen's cloakrooms, and suggested

that the clergy should follow their example. On another occasion the Bishop (Furse) was faced by a written question from a priest—the same contentious Scot and evidently a disciple of Ruskin—which demanded if "Roman so-called ornaments on the Holy Table such as sham candles consisting of wood carefully planned to deceive the eye and create an unreal appearance are lawful in the Church of the Province?" Since wooden stocks adorned some of the candlesticks in the cathedral in which Synod was meeting the matter was a delicate one, but the Bishop's reply combined legal subtlety with the wisdom of the serpent: "I am unaware of any law of the Catholic Church which lays down where the candlestick must end and the candle begin." On another occasion, when a mischievously inclined member of Synod tried to corner his Bishop on the legality of post-Reformation developments, the latter pointed out that "some practices unknown to the pre-Reformation Church of England are lawful in the Church—*e.g.*, the practice of clergymen bicycling."

Another characteristic that distinguished the new Synods from those of the days before the Boer War was their tendency to debate prominent questions and matters of public policy—one Synod included among its topics the question of first offender, the payment of prisoners for work done, the establishment of a reformatory, and the intercourse of white men with native women. There is a distinct danger of futility in debates and pious resolutions that can have no immediate positive effect, but the tendency is not without interest in itself.

It is not easy to pick out specific incidents in Bishop Carter's episcopate, which was notable for the immense work of co-ordination and reorganization rather than for any particularly startling events. One very regrettable happening, for which he was in no way responsible, was to cause him much distress. This was the foundation in Johannesburg in 1903 of a schismatical body calling itself the "Church of England." The legal position is

too involved to treat here, but it is sufficient to say that there is no scrap of legal justification for either the diatribes of its supporters against the Church of the Province or its own remarkable choice of a designation. In the eyes of the law this congregation is a voluntary association on precisely the same basis as the Church of the Province, and its arbitrary assumption of a title cannot alter the facts of its origin.

This so-called "Church of England" was founded, most inappropriately, by a priest who came to South Africa direct from the Australian Church, and had held a canonry in one of its cathedrals. By deliberately cutting itself off from the recognized episcopate and Church order in the place of its foundation the congregation automatically ruled itself out of the Anglican communion. The Bishop formally remonstrated with the priest in question, and his action was endorsed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and Cape Town, but without effect, and the tragic schism still continues, doing good to no one, and merely a source of bewilderment and distress to those who have neither the time nor the capacity to study the legal basis of a most regrettable affair.

The truth of the matter is that the legal objection is only a pretext, and the dispute belongs to the realms of party controversy. The authorities of the Church of the Province have always been ready to welcome any legitimate shades of opinion in the Anglican Church, and not least a true constructive Evangelicalism, but they cannot, if they are true to the Church from which they sprang, admit the claim of any one section to unchurch the rest, and to limit the great Anglican tradition to one partial interpretation. If the congregation of Christ Church, Hillbrow, were to abandon the dubious footing of their legal position, and take their stand upon the justice of their claim to represent one aspect of the Christian verity, the trouble would be at an end, and they would find none more sympathetic than the duly authorized officers of the Anglican communion in Johannesburg. The blunder

was ever to have introduced an objection which at best was a pure legal technicality, and on closer investigation proves not to be justified in fact.

At the very moment that this Australian Church of England was being established in Johannesburg the Church of England itself was preparing, by the Mission of Help, to come to the aid of her sister in South Africa. The dislocation caused to the whole of South Africa by the long years of war, and the establishment of an English-speaking population in the new colonies of the north, provided an immense task for the Church in the country. The Mother Church, therefore, took a hand, and a body of men was sent out to preach a mission throughout South Africa with the idea of stimulating the devotion of members of the Church and arousing the interest of those outside its circle. George Wilkinson, Bishop of Truro, was largely responsible for the idea, and he and Canon Scott Holland made a preliminary survey of the field. Careful preparation was made throughout the Transvaal, and the missioners spent May and June within the Diocese. Among them were some whose names have since become well known in South Africa—Walter Carey, the present Bishop of Bloemfontein, C. H. Rolt, formerly Dean of Cape Town, and J. B. Seaton, sometime Rector of St. Mary's, Johannesburg, and now Bishop of Wakefield. They held meetings and retreats for the clergy, devoted considerable time to the Reef and Pretoria, while individual missioners went into the country towns like Lydenburg and Barberton.

It is never possible to estimate the real work done by a mission, but the immediate result was a tightening up of Church activities, the foundation of societies like the Church Men's and Church Women's Societies, and a fuller realization of the meaning of Church membership. The Diocese seemed to emerge from its period of anarchy to a realization of its own meaning as an organization. The Mission of Help had accomplished its object.

It is one of the anomalies of the Diocese that its wealth-

iest congregation was for over forty years without a parish church. In fact its absence was the technical reason given by Bishop Bousfield for declining to sanction the erection of St. Mary's, Johannesburg, into a parish. The original St Mary's in Eloff Street was built as a Hall and intended only to serve as a church until the town was sufficiently settled to enable a permanent building to be begun. The old hall was enlarged more than once, and a permanent building was in contemplation at the time of the Archbishop's award in 1899. Then came the war, but in 1903 the sale of its property put St. Mary's Council in possession of a large capital sum. Plans were drawn up for an elaborate scheme of church and hall, and it was decided again to make a start with the hall, which was to serve until the new church should be built.

The new hall was a magnificent stone structure—too magnificent perhaps—in a free adaptation of the late Perpendicular style, designed to hold nearly two thousand, and the contract price was £34,620 6s. 4d. The cornerstone was laid by Sir Alfred Milner on September 4, 1904, in what was described as "one of the worst dust-storms of the year" (those who know what that means can only shudder at the thought), and the building was opened with a pontifical Eucharist on All Saints' Day, 1905. It is on record that "the only note of sadness was awakened by the comparative newness of the paint on some of the chairs, which one tall speaker (with gaiters) alleged as the cause of his delay in rising to respond to a cordial toast" at the party which followed. St. Mary's Hall was the centre of Church life in Johannesburg for twenty-three years, and in spite of its galleries and stage made a very dignified church. The great new cathedral which is to be consecrated in the Jubilee year of the Diocese, and gives St. Mary's Parish a permanent church at last, will never quite take the place of the two old halls in the affections of those who remember the great days in their history.

In 1905 a Committee of Synod began the revision of

the Canons of the Diocese, which had come down from the early Synods of Bishop Bousfield's days. The work took three years, and the revision, under the title of Diocesan "Rules and Regulations," received the authority of Synod in 1908. The Rules and Regulations have remained the standard, and, with amendments, form the constitution of the Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg at the present day.

The Synod of 1905 authorized the preparation of plans and designs for a new cathedral. The urgent need for accommodation in 1902, when it was the only English church in Pretoria and had to serve a garrison as well, led to the extension of the old building by throwing out a side aisle to the south. It was only a temporary measure, in red brick and without architectural pretensions, but costing about £2,000. The town was extending rapidly: new churches were needed in the suburbs of Arcadia and Sunnyside, and the cathedral authorities decided to make no public appeal until the rest of the town was provided for. The decision was kept, and most of the funds available were contributed privately.*

Messrs. Baker and Macey were asked to prepare designs, and it was decided to build a new chancel eastward from the old brick building. The plan of the suggested building is based upon the Romanesque basilica, and the style, distinctly individual, can best be likened to a simplified Norman, with great round arches and solid square pillars, absolutely devoid of ornament. The whole of the relief is gained by the use of a local stone, rough-hewn, whose prevailing shade is a greyish brown, but with lights of blue and pure grey. The wide, bare chancel, probably the most successful of Sir Herbert Baker's work, makes a magnificent background to the official ceremonial that the Englishman loves, and the memory of its austere dignity makes many a more renowned building look cheap and shoddy by contrast.

* The greater part of the £5,000 expended was collected by Lady Selborne among her friends in England.

The foundation stone was laid in July of 1908 by Lord Selborne, and the new chancel was consecrated by Bishop Carter on Easter Monday of the following year, but he was no longer Bishop of the Diocese. In December, 1908, he was elected to the Archiepiscopal See of Cape Town, to fill the place of William West Jones, who had guided the Province since 1875, and was enthroned in St. George's Cathedral on May 1 following.

When he left after his six years' episcopate Bishop Carter handed on a Diocese that had been completely restored. There were seventy-two white clergy, one native priest and eleven native deacons. The whole native work of the Diocese had been organized and built up out of a handful of scattered missions, the Wantage Sisters and Community of the Resurrection were at work, rescue work had been initiated, and, in spite of the set-back in Pretoria, the educational work of the Church had been steered through the days of difficulty. Thirty buildings had gone up, among them the beginnings of a new cathedral, the Diocesan Central Fund was established, and the Church, its base consolidated, was prepared to go forward. Above all, old troubles had been exorcised, old disputes forgotten, and between the Bishop and his Diocese there was mutual trust and affection.

The Bishop had found an anarchical collection of Church people, he left a Diocese.

On May 12, 1909, about sixty clergy and a large number of lay representatives from the parishes met in Pretoria under the presidency of Archdeacon Roberts, who, as Senior Priest of the Diocese, presided for a second time over an Elective Assembly. The choice fell upon Michael Bolton Furse, who as Archdeacon had been head of the Diocesan organization created by Bishop Carter, whose masculine Christianity had compelled the respect of the layfolk of Johannesburg of all kinds, and whose personality had made him known throughout the Diocese.

He was consecrated in Pretoria Cathedral on St. Peter's Day, 1909, by the Archbishop, the Bishops of

Natal and Mashonaland, and enthroned the same afternoon by Archdeacon Roberts. His episcopal robes and staff, the head of the latter being a fine piece of silver work with four tiny uncut diamonds from the Premier Mine, were a gift from the layfolk of the Diocese; his ring, a signet of Transvaal gold, and pectoral cross were given by his clergy.

On the High Altar of Pretoria Cathedral stand six candlesticks of which this story is told. They are of Renascence design and apparently Italian in origin, and adorned a lady's drawing-room in Johannesburg. The Archdeacon noticed them one day and pointed out that they were clearly ecclesiastical. "Very well, Mr. Archdeacon," said the lady, "when you become a Bishop you shall have them." After his election they duly arrived, and were given by him to his cathedral. Some time later W. E. Gibbons, Rector of the Cathedral Parish, prowling as he was wont through a shabby old second-hand shop in London, came on two standard candlesticks of precisely the same design. He bought them, and the set reunited now stands in the sanctuary of the cathedral.

CHAPTER VI

CENTRALIZATION AND DIVISION

At the time of his consecration the new Bishop had been in the Transvaal just short of six years, and had secured a position in the public life of Johannesburg such as few other men, and certainly no religious leaders, have attained. With his six feet four inches of height and a deeply resonant voice he dominated any public occasion at which he appeared. Those who were there will not easily forget how he filled the Square at Pretoria for the Memorial Service to King Edward VII. Into all he did he threw himself with tremendous vigour. "I believe," he told Synod in 1912, "in plain speaking and clean hitting," and he carried his belief into practice. Though open and friendly to all, he was outspoken in attacking evil, and earned himself the compliment of being hated by those whose illicit gains he did not hesitate to denounce.

A vigorous impatience of convention and desire to "get to the point" were responsible for what was to many his chief characteristic—a use of slang and expressive colloquialisms. But it was before the days of the rather depressing "heartiness" of a certain type of "ex-padre," and the Bishop's mode of speech was no empty pose, but expressive of the man and his vigorous personality.

In the Diocese he was notorious as a "money-getter," and here again his keenest admirers often overlooked the real source of his strength. He was no mere blusterer, cajoling money out of the crowd like a mountebank at the fair. The work stood first, and money was only a means to carry on the great forward movement of the Church. More than once he told audiences that to him the most romantic thing in Synod was the words "not

in sight" prefixed to the estimated deficit in the annual Estimates.

He it was who inaugurated the great annual "campaign" each November to close the year free of debt, but it was he who taught the people to meet in prayer that the needed money might be forthcoming. And it was. Year after year November was reached with several hundreds, sometimes thousands, short of the required amount, and year after year closed with a tiny balance on the right side. This was not all due to the Bishop's wealthy friends. On Christmas Eve of his first year's effort came a cheque for £1,000—the amount of the deficiency—from a few private friends, but he told the Diocese that he accepted it only with grave misgiving, since the Church people had not done their share. His constant teaching had its effect: smaller subscriptions to Diocesan Funds increased as the larger ones fell off. In 1911 there were 500 subscribers, in 1912 over 1,800, and in the later years of Bishop Furse's episcopate twenty pages of the Diocesan Report were filled with closely printed acknowledgments of individual subscriptions.

Throughout his time of office the Bishop was insistent on the need for "the wider vision," and the need for prayer. His constant aim—"objective" he called it in the war days—was a "nucleus of faithful *praying* daily and weekly for the work and its upbuilding and extension, and *giving* regularly . . . according to their means." The clergy were urged to hold prayer meetings in their parishes even if only the faithful two or three were gathered together, and the Quarterly Intercession Paper for the Diocese was published to provide them with material for their intercessions. In the Diocesan Report for 1913 the Bishop put in significant order his "needs for the present year":

More prayer,
More work,
More workers,
More means.

On the need for prayer the Bishop was emphatic "in season, out of season," and it would be a misjudging of his whole episcopate to ignore the fact.

Constitutionally, his tenure of the See showed the same tendencies of centralization and control from Johannesburg that had been growing in the days of his predecessor. As Archdeacon the Bishop had already built himself a house in Johannesburg. At first he attempted to make his home for a portion of the year in Johannesburg and Pretoria alternately, but the expense and inconvenience of the arrangement led to its being dropped in 1914. Thenceforward he lived in his own house in Johannesburg. But he was seldom to be found there. Bishop Carter had left behind him a Diocese firmly established, well organized, and at least tolerably equipped. As Archdeacon, Bishop Furse had done much to establish that organization; it was now time to move out into the Diocese. A good deal younger than the former Bishop, he set himself to travelling through the Transvaal, by mule-cart, by ox-waggon, and later by car. The letters that he wrote month by month to the *Kingdom* tell of ceaseless movement. To take one at random—that in the number for July, 1914, records a round through Klerksdorp (where the last letter had been written), Gestoptefontein, Wolmaransstad, Maquassi, Bloemhof, Christiana (with a trip across the border of the Orange Free State to confirm some of Canon Bevan's natives), Schweizer Reneke, Lichtenburg, Ottoshoop, Zeerust, Zwartruggens, Rustenburg, Wolhuterskop, Pretoria—no pleasant trip in the dreary waste of the Western Transvaal, and especially in winter, with its cold and wind and dust, of which the Bishop got his fair share.

It was on this journey at Bloemhof that, to his intense delight, he was mistaken for a chauffeur, by someone anxious to hire a car to go to Christiana. Wherever he went there were services, baptisms, and confirmations, meetings of Church folk (rather sticky and self-conscious

some of them, so that he had to sing "Widdicombe Fair" to liven up proceedings), a talk about the work and the establishment of a Church Committee to organize an outpost of the Church.

The great achievement of Bishop Furse's time was the establishment of the "Bishop's Fund," or, as its full title was in the early days, "The Bishop's Fund for Church Extension." The Diocesan Central Fund founded by his predecessor had also provided funds for schools, missions, and poor parishes, and the new organization was to take over this part of the work. The Central Fund had been concerned largely with the Bishopric and the Diocesan Office; now, with the increase in endowments and the institution of a parochial tithe, central expenditure was fairly well provided for: what was now needed was an advance. Diocesan administration was a necessity, and every parish derived benefit from its existence. No one could claim any credit for contributing to its needs. The need of the Church was extension, hence the new fund.

By calling it the "Bishop's Fund" Bishop Furse was making a deliberate attempt to "realize his assets" by turning his personality and popularity to account. He had, of course, to explain that the Bishop's Fund was not a fund for paying the Bishop, and to make clear to puzzled people with vague memories of early days in England that the Church was not supported in some mysterious way by King Edward or King George. But this only enabled him to emphasize the fact at which he kept hammering away throughout his episcopate—the responsibility for the extension of the Church that fell upon every individual Churchman.

The objects of the Bishop's Fund were given in the Reports as these:

(i.) To assist to maintain work in poorer parishes.
(ii.) To help towards the stipends and transport expenses of clergymen working among scattered members of the Church in country districts.

(iii.) To start work in new districts.
(iv.) To make grants towards St. John's College, Johannesburg, and the Diocesan School for Girls, Pretoria (which receive no help from Government).
(v.) To assist in providing European clergymen to supervise the work among native and coloured people.
(vi.) To provide pensions or allowances for aged or infirm clergymen.

Beginning with a matter of £1,350 in 1910, the fund steadily crept up until it reached just short of £5,000 in 1916, the last complete year before the dislocation of the Diocese by the War Service Scheme, and very much the same in 1919, the last complete year of Bishop Furse's episcopate. From this fund grants were made to poor parishes, Church schools, pensions, work among white girls, the House of Mercy, and the South African Church Railway Mission. The root idea of the Fund, which was that every Churchman and Churchwoman should contribute, meant considerable organization, and in 1910 the Rev. G. H. Cameron was appointed Organizing Secretary. The intention was that he should do much the same work for the new Fund as Bishop Furse had done for the old as Archdeacon, but a good deal of his time was occupied in supply work to fill temporary vacancies in the parishes.

The opportunity was taken to remodel the archdeaconries. There were to be four: the Western Transvaal, including Pretoria, under H. B. Sidwell, who had a parish cure in a suburb of that town; the Eastern Transvaal, under A. Roberts, who was stationed at Wakkerstroom; Johannesburg, which was held by J. B. Seaton, together with the Rectory of St. Mary's; and one of the Northern Transvaal, which was combined by Father J. L. Fuller with the Directorship of Native Missions.

J. T. Darragh had resigned the cure of St. Mary's in 1908. His health had completely broken down, and he could no longer stand the high altitude of Johannesburg. He had been the highest paid priest in the Diocese for many years, while his church had been the centre of fashionable weddings. He had seen Johannesburg grow up from its earliest beginnings, yet he left the Diocese a poor man. Simple in his private life, with a household of almost monastic bareness, he had given away every penny he possessed.

In 1909 Pretoria received its first Dean in the person of Wilfred Gore-Browne, who had been Rector of the parish since 1903, and was installed on August 22 in the cathedral. The Bishop's intention was that he should act as an extra-parochial official, "bringing the Mother Church of the Diocese into close and live touch with the different parishes," and the cure of souls of Pretoria Parish was confided to a Rector.

Another important innovation was the institution of the Bishop's Senate. The old Chapter planned by Bishop Bousfield had never really been in working order, and the canonries and prebends he had instituted were falling vacant. In its place was set up a consultative body, to be summoned by the Bishop once a quarter, to give advice on matters of policy concerning the Diocese. The members were the Dean and Archdeacons, *ex officio*, and six priests elected by the clergy in Synod, of whom two should retire every year and not be eligible for re-election until after the expiration of another year. The body was set up after consultation with a special conference of clergy, and met from time to time, but it is difficult for an outsider to judge of its usefulness. It had no constitutional functions to perform, nor any way of enforcing its views, and there was always a danger of its becoming merely a machine for endorsing the episcopal will.

In 1911 the Bishop went to England, partly on a "begging tour," and partly to recuperate after a serious

illness. While there he established a "Pretoria Diocesan Association" to collect funds for the work of the Diocese. It followed much the same lines as Bishop Bousfield's "Pretoria Diocesan Fund," with its nucleus of personal friends of the Bishop and machinery for appeal to the parishes, and was open to the same objection that the creation of a rival organization was hardly fair to the S.P.G., which already supported the Diocese generously, and appealed to precisely the same constituency as the new Association. It did, however, introduce that personal touch that was Bishop Furse's great asset. The Association did a tremendous service for the Diocese, as it still continues to do, raising about a thousand a year until the war years, when its revenue dropped to £350, and now, incorporated in the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia Missions, bringing in a steady annual sum to the two Transvaal Dioceses.

In 1911 H. B. Sidwell, whose whole ministerial life had been spent within the Transvaal, was elected to the Bishopric of George, a See whose foundation, although arranged for by Bishop Gray, had been delayed until the return of the Natal property that the courts assigned to Bishop Colenso. He was consecrated in Pretoria Cathedral on Michaelmas Day, the first South African born to be raised to the episcopate.

At this time Pretoria Diocese became almost a nursery for Bishops. In March of the next year Wilfred Gore-Browne, its Dean, was chosen to the See of Kimberley and Kuruman, and in November John Latimer Fuller, the Director of Missions, to that of Lebombo. The Clergy List of the Diocese for 1912 contains also the names of James Nash, Headmaster of St. John's College, who was consecrated Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Cape Town in 1917, and Theodore Sumner Gibson, for three years curate at Pretoria Cathedral, who was elected to succeed Wilfred Gore-Browne at Kimberley in 1928. In 1914 there came to the Diocese Edward Paget, who was consecrated to the See of Southern Rhodesia in 1925.

The vacant Deanery at Pretoria was filled by the appointment of Julius Gordon, whose Scots pugnacity and keen sense of humour served, both before and after his collation, to prevent Synods from degenerating into somnolence and torpidity.

In 1912 the Bishop wrote: "(This year) will, I hope, be historical in the annals of this Diocese as being the first year that a definite organized and united effort was made to join together for one week in prayer on behalf of the work of Christ's Church in this Diocese." The time chosen was Rogation-tide, and the parish clergy were urged by the Bishop to call their people to prayer throughout the week. Special leaflets were issued and intercession services held. The Week of Prayer was intended to be an annual institution, and was held regularly for two or three years until the idea was taken up by the Province as a whole, only to be wrecked, together with much other good work, by the Great War.

The same year Synod made membership of the Pretoria Clergy Provident Fund compulsory on all clergy serving in the Diocese. The Fund had been established in 1909 on a voluntary basis with a constitution drawn up by a committee composed of leading Johannesburg laymen. Contributions were to be made by the clergy of the Diocese of a sum equal to 2 per cent. of their stipends, to which were added an equal amount by the Parish and 1 per cent. by the Diocese. A contributor leaving the Diocese before arriving at a pensionable age was to be entitled only to the return of his actual payments together with interest, but subscriptions were also made by individuals to the fund, and it was the hope of the founders that it would grow in various ways so as to make it possible to pay every priest on retiring a sum sufficient to keep him in comparative comfort.

In 1912 Archdeacon Seaton resigned, and the Archdeaconry of Johannesburg, once more extra-parochial and attached to the Diocesan Office, was conferred upon G. H. Cameron. The departure of Bishop Sidwell, and

the retirement of Archdeacon Roberts, allowed two other archdeaconries to lapse, while to that of Pietersburg was appointed F. A. Rogers, head of the S. A. Church Railway Mission in the Transvaal. In 1913 the post of Director of Missions, now separated from the archdeaconry, was conferred upon W. F. Hill, while in 1920 Bishop Fuller, who had been compelled to resign the See of Lebombo through ill-health, returned to the Diocese as Director of Missions for the North.

In 1914 came the world war—there is a grim humour in the fact that in that year, now looked back upon as a half-incredible golden age, the Bishop was writing that times were bad! Its effects were disastrous for the Church. Though the Bishop's personality was sufficient to keep funds from falling off, no new work could be attempted in face of the never-ending appeals for war funds and war charities of all sorts. The unfortunate Pretoria Cathedral Building Fund, which had made arrangements for a great appeal, but postponed it once because labour troubles had led to street-fighting in Johannesburg, and again because a General Strike put the country under martial law, disappeared from sight.

Clergy were sent to German South-West Africa as chaplains, and others to the next campaign in German East. The war meant enormously increased work to the parish priests—in some places the authorities regularly used them to break the news to relations of casualties—but after a visit to England and the Western Front in 1916 the Bishop became convinced that the Church should take a greater part in the struggle. In March, 1917, therefore, was introduced a War Service Scheme, by which the Diocese was to be reorganized to release every priest capable of playing a part in the war. Altogether some forty were sent off, some to chaplaincies, some to Y.M.C.A. and Red Cross work, some to combatant service. Twenty-nine remained behind. The Bishop was not without his critics, who pointed out that the scheme seemed to exaggerate the importance of a tem-

poral struggle at the expense of the work of the Church, which was being wrecked to provide a handful of men for war service. The scheme had, however, one advantage, in that it materially reduced the expenses of the Diocese at a time when money was difficult to obtain.

The great question was the maintenance of the work in the Transvaal. It was proposed to do this by the use of laymen—at one time 125 readers held the Bishop's licence—and by spreading the work of the remaining priests over as wide an area as possible. In the larger towns services were carried on much as usual, but in the smaller centres the visit of a priest could only be occasional.

Still more important, for it has left its mark upon the two Transvaal Dioceses to this day, was the centralization of finances. Clergy were no longer limited to a single parish, while allowances had to be paid to the dependants of those who had gone on service. It became necessary, therefore, to pool all available resources to enable payments to be made from a centre. The Bishop's Fund, the Bishop announced, had now become a War Fund.

The labour involved was tremendous. The Bishop's Chaplain, H. L. Bell, was responsible for co-ordinating the services of the scanty band of clergy all over the Diocese, and his "staff work," as the Bishop called it, revealed an organizing genius. A stock of motor-cars and motor-bicycles was bought for £867, to enable touch to be kept with scattered parishes. The payment of stipends and allowances from the Diocesan Office added a large burden to an overworked staff.

For the next two years the Diocese did little but "mark time," but in 1919 the Bishop was able to carry through Synod a proposal that he had had in mind for many years past—the centralization and grading of clergy stipends. An article in the *Kingdom* a few months after his consecration, probably written, but certainly inspired by him, outlined a scheme thus: "If we are ever to deal effectively with the question of finance . . . a complete

change should be made in the system of paying the clergy. The whole of the clergy, from the Bishop to the latest arrival from home, should be paid by the Diocesan Finance Board.

"Parishes or districts requiring the ministrations of the Church would as at present apply to the Bishop for a resident or itinerant priest. Such parishes would then be informed by the Diocesan Finance Board what sum per month would have to be contributed, and this sum would have to be reckoned so as to cover not only stipend and housing of a priest, but also what is now known as tithing or assessment for Central Funds."

Centralization had already been achieved as a war measure. The clergy were returning to their parishes. Now, if ever, the Bishop must make it permanent.

The arguments in favour are obvious. It would destroy the anomaly of a priest living comfortably on a fair income in a wealthy district, while his neighbour in the next parish was obliged to badger his people for a mere pittance. It would enable a priest to put before his congregation the Christian rule of almsgiving without feeling that he was begging for his salary, and spare him what had actually happened in the past, the ignominy of having to preside at a Council meeting that debated whether or no to incur a bank overdraft in order to pay his stipend. Above all, it would emphasize once and for all the fact that a priest is the servant of the Church and not of his congregation, and would substitute the Diocese for the parish as the unit of organization.

The objections made to the scheme were undoubtedly of great practical weight, but they were hardly creditable to the layfolk to whom they were imputed. Those who urged them were careful as a general rule to disclaim them for themselves. They were, first, that a parish would not pay a Diocesan assessment if it knew that someone else would send the parson's cheque whether it paid or not; and, secondly, that a parish would never surrender its power of starving out an unpopular priest.

Centralization carried the day, but it involved standardization of stipends. The scale finally approved by Synod, much less generous than that originally proposed, provided for every European priest a basic stipend of £300 a year, together with free house or quarters; for every ten years in orders an additional £20 per annum; an extra £60 if married, and a further £20 a year for each child. Thus a married man of about forty-three with four children would receive £480 a year, together with his house, a reward that compares very badly with that of any other profession demanding an equal intellectual preparation. Even so the standardized stipends were higher than the average of those paid by the parishes in the past, and involved the raising of an extra £5,800, an amount equal, as the Bishop put it, to an extra 15s. per communicant over and above the average sum contributed in the past.

The Bishop's facing of the problem was typical: "Is it the right thing to do? Is the money here?—and the answer is YES.

"If it is the right thing to do, then see to it that every member of the Church in your parish knows that it is; and let those who believe in the miracles wrought by prayer get busy and organize their prayer resources, so that light may be brought to those who at present cannot see. . . .

"Organize your prayer resources: let your prayers be definite and definitely directed (like good artillery fire) on definite objectives . . . and then the Spirit will move them and all the money needed will be forthcoming by straight and cheery giving."

The other implication of centralization was assessment. Every parish must contribute a certain sum each year to the Central Fund. The difficulty was to find a basis of assessment. The Communicants' Roll would break down at once over differences in capacity and local conditions. Payments made in the past might serve as a guide (assessments had been in practice for the Bishop's Fund for

some time), but it was notorious that some parishes, badly organized, had never contributed to their full capacity. The only way was to proceed by experiment and adjustment, until the Board arrived at the capacity of a parish to pay. Even this was subject to the objection that a parish paying up its assessments loyally ran the risk of having them increased.

The Diocesan Report for 1920 stated that the many defaulting parishes might be classified under three heads:

(i.) Parishes where income had suffered through there being no resident priest.
(ii.) Parishes which through altered conditions had been assessed too high.
(iii.) Parishes which, in the opinion of the D.F.B., could have done better.

The figures that follow show the cost of the parochial clergy to the Diocese for 1921, the last year before division:

	£	s.	d.
Clergy stipends	20,108	0	10
Occasional duty	422	11	5
Travelling expenses	121	5	0
Transport charges	430	9	9
Furlough Fund	1,069	7	3
Moving expenses	55	17	0
Total	22,207	11	3

Bishop Furse's episcopate saw the development of the existing Diocesan Institutions and works of mercy, and the establishment of a Lads' Hostel, which by some extraordinary blunder was allowed later to slip out of the hands of the Church. It had grown out of certain club work, and among its other activities acted as a probation place for juvenile offenders. A similar institution was set up for girls, an orphanage founded for white boys and another for coloured children, while the Sisters at the

House of Mercy began a most necessary establishment for the care of the feeble-minded.

The most striking achievement constitutionally was the division of the Diocese. Division had been talked about for many years. At the Synod of 1898 one of Bishop Bousfield's friends gave notice of a question: "To ask and if necessary move a resolution: If it is true that certain Churchmen of Johannesburg, some of them members of this Synod, are moving to separate Pretoria and the northern districts from the rest of the Diocese, and to form the remainder into a new Diocese?" The Bishop replied "that a vague rumour had reached him, but he had not attached any importance, as such an act of discourtesy to himself and his office would, if the rumour was to be credited, have been formally brought to his notice." Later "The Curate of Johannesburg (Darragh) and Mr. Hollins stated that such an idea had been spoken of, but it had not reached the proportions of a plan or scheme." The Bishop then "addressed the Synod on the questions asked." Apparently the proposal was little more than vague talk aroused in Johannesburg by the prevailing feeling of discontent. It was at this Synod that the "country party" carried the previous question against St. Marys' petition concerning their property, and caused them to appeal to the Archbishop.

After the Boer War the Diocese, with its increased responsibilities and little congregations scattered over an area as big as the British Isles, was clearly beyond the powers of a single Bishop. At first all energies were absorbed in the work of reconstruction, but in February, 1906, a meeting of clergy held in Johannesburg decided that the Archbishop should be petitioned to appoint a Coadjutor to the See, and made proposals for finding his stipend. The Lambeth Conference, the death of Archbishop West Jones and translation of Bishop Carter caused the scheme to drop, but in his charge to Synod in 1912 Bishop Furse foreshadowed some measure of granting relief to the Diocesan. The next Synod ap-

pointed a Committee which circularized all the parishes in the Diocese for their views.

The suggestions made fell under five heads:

A. The election of a Coadjutor Bishop (by the Diocese) who, by the canons of the Province, would have the right of succession in case of a vacancy of the See.

B. The appointment of an assistant Bishop (by the Diocesan) chiefly for native work.

C. The division of the Diocese, *either* by creating a new See of Johannesburg and the south *or* by creating a new See around Pietersburg for the north.

D. The detaching of the northern and eastern districts to the Diocese of Lebombo—as had been proposed in Bishop Bousfield's day.

E. The appointment of a fresh extra-parochial archdeacon.

Acute differences of opinion now showed themselves, and the old rivalry between Pretoria and Johannesburg flared up afresh. The people in Johannesburg called Pretoria (the words are a quotation) " a stagnant place, always relying on the Rand for everything—not pleased to be told so, but really conscious of it." The people of the capital retorted by pointing out that their neighbours of the Witwatersrand coveted the empty glory of the Bishopric, and were particularly anxious to rid themselves of the overwhelming responsibility of the mission field of the north. This jealousy was a disaster. It prevented the discussion of proposals on their merits, and led in the end to a combination of bribery and steam-rollering to secure the will of the majority.

Those interested in mission work inclined at first to the idea of an assistant Bishop for native work, on the ground that the native problem was really one throughout the Transvaal and called for the attention of an expert. Against this, however, there was the danger of creating

two Churches—one white and one black—as has actually happened in the case of one denomination in South Africa. At the same time the Bishop pointed out that neither an Assistant nor a Coadjutor would relieve the Diocesan of the responsibility of the See, or, as he put it on another occasion, of having to make up his mind fifty times a day.

This practically narrowed the field to division, and the Rand had set its mind irrevocably on separation from Pretoria. This would leave the old Diocese with 71 per cent. of the area, and the new with 29 per cent. As against this disproportionate share of the area Pretoria would receive only 27 per cent. of the white population, of which the percentage of English Churchpeople would be even smaller—since the population was largely agricultural and Dutch—than in the south. At the same time the northern Diocese, with its immense native areas in Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg, would have 60 per cent. of the native population, leaving 40 per cent., or perhaps less, if Piet Retief be excluded,* for the south. Again, whereas the bulk of the native population of the Johannesburg Diocese was collected in the great mine compounds of the Reef, that in the north was scattered over a wide area in tiny congregations at different kraals.

The result was that the vast mission area of the north, and responsibility for the English settlers throughout the greater part of the Transvaal, would be placed upon Pretoria, leaving the compact Diocese of Johannesburg with a simpler European problem and an attemptable native sphere.

The reply to this argument was that the Reef had so many specialized problems as to demand practically the whole care of a Bishop. Bishop Furse said that it was impossible for him to do justice to the two centres of Johannesburg and Pretoria. The Archdeacon of Johannesburg maintained, too, that the finances of the Pretoria

* It belongs to the Diocese of Zululand, and the estimate is not quite clear as to whether it is included in the figures.

section had been neglected, and with the personal supervision of a Bishop could easily be made to produce more.

At the Synod of 1914 opposition to the proposed division was determined, and sometimes heated, and the Great War held up the whole matter until 1919. The Synod of that year accepted the general principle, and appointed a Committee to go into details, but before it reported Bishop Furse left the Diocese. Early in 1920 he was translated to the Bishopric of St. Albans, being the first Bishop consecrated overseas in an independent Province to fill an English See.

In his place was elected Neville Stuart Talbot (a Bishop of six feet six to succeed one of six feet four), who was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on St. John Baptist's Day, 1920. (The events of that year caused no little flutter among the "Church of England" schismatics in Johannesburg, and compelled them to improvise an entirely mythical distinction between a "Church of England Bishop" and a "South African" one!) The new Bishop was advised both by Bishop Furse and the Diocesan authorities to proceed with division at once, and at the Synod that opened with his enthronement on October 3 the matter was pushed on.

Before it could be accomplished a large number of complicated questions had to be settled by committees. These can be classified roughly under the heads of Boundaries, Endowment, and Diocesan Institutions.

The Boundary line was laid down to divide the Transvaal between Johannesburg and Pretoria, and followed roughly the line of latitude 26. In practice it was conditioned by the railway lines, and thus Zeerust and its district, connected with Johannesburg by rail, were included in the southern Diocese, though both ethnologically and geographically Marico and the neighbouring district of Rustenburg should have gone together. Incidentally the Bishop of Johannesburg has complained that the division gave him the bleak, barren High Veld,

and left his brother of Pretoria all the scenery of the Transvaal!

According to precedent the older Diocese was entitled to the endowments existing at the time of division. Johannesburg could point out, however, that more than half of these had been contributed by the Witwatersrand, and £10,000 by St. Mary's Parish alone. After not a little discussion, in which the northern Diocese stressed the point that it was being left with the greater part of the work, Synod decided to allow the northern Diocese to retain the whole income from endowments for a period of fifteen years, after which one-third of the capital should become the property of the new Diocese of the south. Nearly seven years have passed, and the northern Diocese has been unable to take any steps to secure itself against the coming loss of its revenue. The Jubilee Fund is intended to do something toward finding the capital sum of about £10,000 that is required.

Institutions—orphanages, schools, and so on, most of which were to be found in the area allotted to Johannesburg and were supported by its subscriptions—should remain the property of the Diocese in which they happened to be. Three institutions, however—the House of Mercy, Irene, the Diocesan Training College for native teachers at Pietersburg, and the Jane Furse Memorial Hospital in Sekukuniland—were to be regarded as the responsibility of both Dioceses, and administered by Committees on which each was represented.

The Pretoria Diocesan Office, already established in Johannesburg, was taken over by the new Diocese, which was thus really the old one, and which paid a cash sum of £500 to enable a new office to be started for the north. The southern Diocese also undertook to make a contribution of £1,000, spread over two years, to enable the Diocese of Pretoria to make a fresh start.

The proposals for division were accepted by the Diocesan Synod of 1921, and by the Bishops of the Province, who fixed January 1, 1922, as the date for

the division to take effect. Bishop Talbot elected to take the northern Diocese, which would be the more onerous task. On January 24 the Elective Assembly of the new Diocese of Johannesburg met and chose Arthur Baillie Lumsden Karney, who was consecrated by the Archbishop and ten Bishops of the Province in St. Mary's Hall on St. James's Day, 1922.

The first Synod of Johannesburg met in St. Mary's Hall, now become the pro-cathedral, on October 8, and the new Diocese was started on its way.

CHAPTER VII

AFTER THE DIVISION

With the separation of Johannesburg and Pretoria in 1922 the main current of the evolution of the Church in the Transvaal came to a halt, at least for the time being. The great work of centralization had been accomplished when Bishop Furse left the Diocese in 1920, and the principle of division accepted. His successors have had to carry on the system that he established.

They have been confronted, too, by that shrinkage of the English-speaking population which is one of the most ominous features of the political history of the country. Though there may have been a slight absolute increase, relatively the English people are declining in importance. The civil servants appointed in the early days after the annexation are reaching the retiring age, and their places are being taken more and more by Dutch-speaking Afrikanders, who now, for the first time in the history of South Africa, are supplying their own Government officials. In the professions and in commerce the place of the British people is being taken by Jews and Afrikanders. At present the shrinkage can be noticed only in the country towns. In 1926 the Diocese of Johannesburg was obliged to withdraw the priest from Wakkerstroom, where one had been resident since 1881, and more than one of the little villages of the northern portion of the Transvaal complain of being unable to meet an assessment which even now does not cover the cost of its priest. Soon it will affect Pretoria itself, since the birth-rate of the towns, where the English-speaking people predominate, is exceptionally low, while that of Jews remains high, and that of the Boer farmer is still mediæval, without the corresponding infant mortality of the Middle Ages.

In spite of this, progress has been made, and the main object of division attained. The work in the north, which is chiefly a matter of getting into touch with scattered settlers, has been organized, and by means of transport grants, usually found out of "English" money, the Church can now claim that none of her children need be without some sort of pastoral care. It is true that the work has been largely a search for members, and that few ever come of their own accord to seek the Church, but the ground has been covered, and with the exception of the definitely lapsed, the Diocese can claim to be in touch with all its people.

There has even been a certain amount of church building. Since the division of the Diocese seven churches or church halls have been begun, and one enlarged. One country town parish, which enlarged its church twenty-five years ago to meet a demand that proved to be only temporary—a garrison of British troops—and has been struggling to pay for it ever since, has paid off the debt and had its church consecrated at last.

The most striking constitutional change in the northern Diocese has been the consolidation of the payments made by the parishes to the central funds. This, which is in a way a natural development of the work of Bishop Furse, was carried out by the Pretoria Synod of 1927. Until that year the payments made by parishes fell under various heads, each of which represented some development in past history. One assessment, dating from 1919, was made in respect of Stipend; then came the Diocesan tithe of all revenue other than capital, which began in 1908; then an assessment for the Furlough Fund; then a contribution to the Provincial Pension Fund, which had supplanted the local Pretoria Fund; and, finally, the assessment of the Church Extension Fund, the name given in place of the more personal "Bishop's Fund" of 1909. The last, originally voluntary, had become a charge on the parishes like any other, and was regularly budgeted for by the Bursar. The proposal was to lump all these

funds under one Diocesan Assessment, payable to a sort of Consolidated Revenue Fund for the Diocese, and thus to cut down the elaborate book-keeping required by the former system to a single ledger account.

Synod approved of the change, though individual parishes objected to their proposed assessments, but it may be doubted whether it would have commended itself altogether to Bishop Furse. For him there was something of a virtue in the mere existence of an Extension Fund to which special contributions were invited. None the less the new arrangement has simplified very considerably the task of the voluntary officials who deal with the work at the centre, and, in view of the extraordinary prejudice entertained in some places and by some people against the Extension Fund, may possibly lead to smoother working.

One other characteristic that deserves comment in the northern Diocese is the exceptional economy of its working. Before division an estimate was prepared by the old Diocesan Office, which placed the charges to the Central Fund of the northern portion at £5,558. In 1926, in spite of the appearance of many items such as rates, and the depreciation of trust properties, which had been overlooked in the estimate, the actual expenditure was £3,317. This was only possible through the generosity of the Bishop in waiving his travelling allowance of £400, and in dispensing with a chaplain, the abandonment of his personal allowance by the Dean, the dropping of a separate extra-parochial archdeacon for white work (for whom, as for the Director of Missions, the estimate was hopelessly inadequate), and many drastic economies in the Office. The staff was reduced to a Secretary alone, and, with the exception of a few pounds for occasional assistance, all the additional labour of running the Diocese, involving many hours of exacting clerical work, was provided by the voluntary service of a body of laymen.

A certain amount of secret mirth was once caused in

junior circles of the Civil Service by the rumour that two high officials were spending most of their spare time going through the Diocesan books in search of an elusive five and eightpence !

In the south there has been little constitutional development, save the centralization of the stipends of native clergy. The Diocesan Rules and Regulations were taken over from the old Diocese with slight amendments, together with the Diocesan organization, and parochial assessments still are paid under their various subdivisions. The presence of a Bishop, however, has allowed due attention to be given to the affairs of the Rand, and though seven churches and church halls have been built for white congregations, the most striking advance has been in the direction of social work. To this period belong the opening of a Mission in the alluvial diamond diggings, the famous " Dean's Shelter " in Johannesburg, the work among Indians, the undertaking of medical work among the natives in Johannesburg locations and settlements, and social work among native girls.

Some of these activities fall under other heads, but the Diamond Diggings provide a field for the whole Diocese. The last few years have seen the opening up in turn of a large number of alluvial diamond fields in the Western Transvaal in the region round Lichtenburg. These have collected the mixed rabble of diggers typical of their kind, but with certain very striking divergences from those of former days. The area is bleak, flat and waterless, without redeeming natural features of any sort, and the business of digging being to turn the whole surface soil upside down for a depth of many feet, an all-pervading dust is the chief characteristic of the countryside. The population, which has been put at 50,000 whites and twice as many natives, is housed in the most squalid surroundings, in hovels made of old sacks and paraffin tins and petrol boxes, among which the shanties of dilapidated wood and iron take on an aristocratic air. There is no permanence. The Reef soon grew out of its " mining

camp" stage, and developed into a city. One diamond field is soon exhausted and the population moves on to another. The workers on the Reef were usually sure of a reward of their labours. Here all is a lottery, with few prizes. A handful of diggers have taken out thousands of pounds' worth of diamonds; the vast majority have not found enough for bare subsistence.

The old digger types are there, but two others, vastly different, have also been attracted. The characteristic South African "poor white," the refuse of the agricultural population, depraved, pauperized, often mentally deficient, certainly incapable of life in community, has floated helplessly toward the fields. At the same time all sorts of settled folk, clerks, professional men, farmers and so on, have thrown up their posts, or, more frequently, come to spend a holiday in pursuit of easy wealth. The "rush" to peg claims, an elaborately stage-managed race, with a line of starters that was sometimes two miles long, drew many well-known athletes, and even promising schoolboys were employed by syndicates and brought down to mingle with the mob.

The settlements are alive with shebeens, the prevailing filth and squalid surroundings show drunkenness and immorality in their grossest form, crimes of violence are common. Human nature is indescribably brutalized by the restlessness and impermanence of the life, the absence of water, and all-pervading dust. When rain falls it often comes in great downpours that flood every hollow and working, and turn the whole countryside into a seething mass of mud.

In October of 1927 two Church Army evangelists took up their residence in a small tin hut in the Diggings. Beginnings were made with services in the open air and cafés and bioscope halls, then a large iron building was put up for use as a church and recreation hall. It was opened on March 11, 1928, and 25 candidates (14 men and 11 women) confirmed. The work done with the hall as centre is of all kinds—poor relief among whites,

sports and gymnastics for children and boys, a library, and social and spiritual work generally. "February," writes one of the workers, "saw the commencement of the native work. We have three schools and five churches, all made of sacks and pieces of tin. In May we had our first Catechist appointed. Most of the natives are of the lowest type, and the work is very hard, but so far the results are very encouraging. . . . We are now trying to raise money to build one large native church.

"Efforts are being made to build two more recreation huts. . . . All buildings are easily moved. . . . Our job often entails shifting to follow up the various new diamond fields."

The parish of St. Mary in Johannesburg continues to open up new work. The Rest Home for Men is more properly parochial and has been discussed elsewhere, but in the Indian Mission it is undertaking what must soon become a Diocesan responsibility. The Indian with his keen business instincts and low standard of subsistence has long been one of the great economic problems of South Africa, but little has been done for him that is either religious or social. Indian educationalists themselves believe that the South African Indian, cut off from the traditions of his fathers, is bound to accept European standards and civilization, and he should provide an admirable opportunity for missionary work. Years ago Bishop Bousfield corresponded with Bombay to secure an Indian worker, and in Darragh's time some work was done among the Indians of Johannesburg. A few Christian Indians drifted up from Natal. In 1925 Bishop Karney turned his attention to the field and secured a South African born Indian, the Rev. B. L. E. Sigamoney, who was training in England for the ministry. He was made deacon and began the work in 1927. The handful of Christian Indians have a service of their own in St. Mary's Church, and possess a tiny chapel in Vrededorp, one of the poorer quarters of the town. The work has hardly yet begun, but a dispensary for Indians has been

started and was opened in May, 1928, by the Agent-General for India, the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivassa Sastri.

That undertaking of the Church which has probably drawn more attention than any other—though it is by no means the most important—is the building of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg. The original scheme provided for an immense church in much the same style as the present St. Mary's Hall, and the parish carefully put aside a certain proportion of its income towards a Building Fund. When the division of the Diocese came about, the firm of Baker and Fleming was asked to prepare fresh designs. A beginning was made with the Chapel of All Souls to serve as a War Memorial, and on its walls are carved the names of every South African who fell in the Great War. The main plan was then begun, and its completion coincides with the Jubilee of the Church organization in the Transvaal.

It is too early as yet to say much about the building. The plan is of the basilica type, but with exceptionally high walls to prevent the church from being dwarfed by the great St. Mary's Hall beside it. The outside work is of a cream-coloured freestone, with red and golden tints, rough-hewn; the inside walls are plastered and lead up to the great concrete barrel vault and internal dome at the crossing. Here again there is no applied ornament, though schemes have been worked out for stained-glass windows. Relief has been gained in the Chapel of All Souls by the brilliant colours of the regimental badges that head the lists of names carved on the walls. A good deal remains to be done, notably the campanile and peal of bells, but in any case the building will be a notable landmark of the Church in the greatest city in Southern Africa, and a testimony that, through all its absorption in practical affairs, it has not forgotten to offer the best things in Art as in Life to God.

CHAPTER VIII

MISSIONS

THE European population of the Transvaal is roughly half a million, of whom about 20 per cent. describe themselves in the Census returns as "English Church." "Other races," chiefly natives, of whom the two Dioceses claim about 44,000, account for one and a half millions more. This is the field open to the Church, but no one would pretend that its effort is in any way proportionate to the opportunity.

Away back in the seventies of last century, when there was talk about the foundation of a Diocese of Pretoria, the area was considered predominantly as a mission field, but the white population of the Transvaal has absorbed practically the whole of the effort of the Church. For many years nearly all the S.P.G. grant was spent on assistance to white parishes and in itineration among white settlers. Missionary work organized by the Diocese was practically unknown before the Boer War.

Bishop Bousfield insisted, and rightly, that the duty of the Church was to seek out its own members first, but he was not conspicuous as a missionary. Native congregations were alarmed by an aloofness of manner which in reality only masked his nervousness. His letters to natives are couched in a style reminiscent of Sir Rider Haggard's native heroes in "Alan Quatermain" and "King Solomon's Mines," while his preaching to natives was either in staccato utterances intended for the interpreter, or couched in a Dutch which was probably less intelligible than his English would have been. This diffidence led him to be slow in opening up native work, though he himself pleaded that the field was occupied by various bodies of Lutheran missionaries, whom the South African

Republic, in its anxiety to exclude Englishmen, had encouraged by large grants of land.

The first English Church missionary in the Transvaal was Francis Owen, of the Church Missionary Society, the only European eye-witness of the massacre of Piet Retief by Dingaan. He left Zululand after the murder, realizing that missionary work would be impossible during the war that was sure to follow; but, his courage undaunted by his experiences, he decided to attempt the conversion of Umzilikazi (Moselikatse), the rival of Dingaan in politics and bloodshed alike. Starting from Cape Colony in company with a lay worker named Hewitson, he pushed up towards Mosega, near the present town of Zeerust, in 1840. Umzilikazi had just been driven north by the Boers, and the country was vacant, but Owen settled down to build a hut and to learn Sechuana. His party suffered great privations, and Hewitson was sent off to the Boers near Potchefstroom for provisions. After some months the Church Missionary Society decided to recall him, and he left South Africa feeling rather bitterly that he had suffered three years of privation, travelled over great stretches of the country, and learned two native languages, all to no avail.

But if the Europeans were diffident or unsuccessful, native work, unsought for, came to the Church. The subjugation of the native races had been proceeding for little more than a generation: the Bapedi under Sekukuni were broken only after the British annexation, and in the year after the coming of Bishop Bousfield. The younger natives were becoming eager to acquire as much as they could of the learning of the white man. Those who had picked up a few scraps of knowledge passed them on to their kinsfolk, garbled enough, no doubt, but treasured pathetically as the key to the superiority that had made the white man master. With the white man's learning came the white man's religion, acquired probably in the same imitative manner. Even today the Church is sometimes asked to take over a little group that has picked

up a vague smattering of Christian doctrine from some such self-appointed teacher.

The picture in most minds, derived probably from vague memories of Augustine preaching before Ethelbert of Kent, of a missionary expounding the faith to a group of ardent hearers beneath a tree, is hardly true of South Africa. The pioneer missionaries—Wesleyans and London Missionary Society most of them—did, in fact, preach to the heathen in person. At the present day (except in the mine compounds of the Reef) direct evangelization of this sort is rare.

The earliest Anglican missionaries after Owen were not Europeans but natives. Mission work was going on at Kimberley, where the diamond fields attracted natives from all over South Africa, and especially the half-independent tribes of the Transvaal. Many absorbed a few scraps of Christianity and came back to teach their fellows. Even though the great mass of the tribe might keep to the ways of their fathers, there were always a few, the "advanced thinkers" of their age, who were eager to learn what they could of the new knowledge.

Here should be noted the unique value of the English Prayer Book in the work of evangelization. A translation into Sechuana had been put out by Canon Crisp, of the Bloemfontein Diocese, and these native groups found it useful in the conduct of their worship. Even when the leader had been converted by some other sect the Prayer Book provided his model. In more than one case the Prayer Book rather than the Bible was the first Christian document that came into an enquirer's hands, and in later, less happy, days congregations that seceded from the Church still retained the use of her forms of Common Prayer.

After Owen the first European missionary in the Transvaal belonging to the English Church was probably J. P. Richardson, whom Bishop Wilkinson found farming near Rustenburg. He had collected a group of about forty natives and used the Prayer Book service. After

his ordination he continued to give what time he could spare from his school and European congregation at Rustbenurg, and after his transfer to Zeerust his catechist, a Hottentot, was the first coloured person to be confirmed by Bishop Bousfield.

Another mission arose spontaneously near Potchefstroom, where a native named Jacob Dabani built up a congregation at Deelkraal, and applied to the Bishop at his first visitation to be received into the Church. Jacob, who had been baptized by some other sect but became possessed of a Sechuana Prayer Book, was made a reader or catechist, and was responsible for starting congregations on several farms in the district. In 1882 Charles Clulee, whom the Bishop made Prebendary of St. Patrick in his cathedral, came up from the Diocese of Bloemfontein and was put in charge of this work. His saintly character and knowledge of native customs and dialects gave him great influence with the converts, but Bishop Bousfield always suspected him of a lack of worldly wisdom. Before his arrival Jacob had suggested buying a farm, but the Diocese was penniless, and the natives could do nothing of themselves. In the end Prebendary Clulee carried through a similar scheme with a petty chief, and in 1886 established the ill-fated station of Molote. Its story has been told above, but at the last visit paid by the Bishop, after the judgment of the High Court and after the chief had done all in his power to disperse the Christians, there were fifty communicants. The chief, however, after his legal victory, handed over the station to another body.

The work around Potchefstroom was carried on by Archdeacon Roberts, who for fourteen years combined the charge of the European congregation in the town with that of the native chapel, and a long round through the country congregations. At the outbreak of the Boer War he had twenty catechists working under him in the district. Further to the south-west around Christiana were certain stations worked by Canon Bevan, a priest of the Diocese

of Bloemfontein, whose work, following the native tribes in disregard of the artificial boundaries of the white man, lay partly in the Transvaal. He received a licence from the Bishop of Pretoria, who exercised episcopal oversight over his congregations, and for whom he occasionally took duty among the handful of Europeans at Christiana.

The mission work in Pretoria town was begun by Bishop Bousfield while he had charge of the cure of souls of the parish. An aged German missionary named Lange, who had come out originally with the Berlin Mission, but was admitted to the English Church and ordained by Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown, came to Pretoria soon after the Bishop's arrival, but died just after the first Boer War. The Bishop then procured a catechist, Khunyana, who had been converted and trained at Kimberley, and built up a congregation in the town, but only a remnant was left after the troubles that ended in his secession. A layman, W. Morris, then undertook the mission work in Pretoria and established a number of out-stations. Archdeacon Roberts believes that he was a voluntary worker, but the Bishop's account is not quite clear. He spent some time in residence at Mathibestad in the north of the district, and under him the mission work was definitely founded.

The first attempt to treat the missionary problem of the Diocese as a whole came with the appointment of Edwin Farmer, a priest who had had considerable experience in Zululand, as Canon Evangelist of St. Alban's Cathedral, with charge of the mission district of Pretoria and general oversight over evangelistic work throughout the Diocese. He threw himself into the task with great energy, travelling great distances into the country, and, for cheapness' sake, often travelling light on a bicycle. One wet season he pushed up into the Zoutpansberg, carrying his bicycle a good deal of the way, as the tracks were impassable. On another occasion, in Sekukuniland, he mended twenty-three punctures, a record outdistanced in after years by Bishop Fuller, who claims to

have given up after mending twenty-eight, because the repair outfit had become exhausted! He it was who, to save expense, built St. Cuthbert's Church in Pretoria to his own design, and much of it with his own hands.

Canon Farmer realized that the missionary methods in use made essential a supply of catechists of good character and standing (he preferred them to be of a chief's family) —and adequate training.

Beside St. Cuthbert's Church in Pretoria he built a number of rooms of wood and iron which were to be the beginning of a college for training catechists. Here he collected a dozen natives during the six months of summer, when the rains made travelling in the district impossible, and "tried to train them in habits of prayer and study and work."

He had, however, attempted too much. His constitution, undermined by the malaria that had forced him to leave Zululand, gave way, and he was endeavouring to recuperate in England after a serious breakdown when the war broke out in 1899. The enforced leisure was spent in preparing a book on "The Transvaal as a Mission Field."

The war put an end to another scheme on which Canon Farmer had been engaged, that of an organization to deal with the problem of the Rand.

The enormous demand for native labour on the mines has led recruiting agencies to penetrate into every native area in South Africa, and even to extend across the border into Portuguese East Africa. Wrenched from the quiet barbarism of their kraals and penned in the compounds of the Reef, these natives were brought into touch, not only with their own people of every type and character, but with European civilization as well, of which, as was only natural, only the less reputable characters showed any desire to cultivate their acquaintance.

The mine-boys were fed and housed tolerably well, their physical health carefully supervised (native labourers are much too costly to be wasted): but nothing was done

for their moral welfare. The mine compounds became nurseries of vice and schools of instruction in crime. "It is true," said one South African missionary Bishop, "that our natives go up to the Randft savages, but it is also true that many of them return nothing less than devils."

The only possible cure was that these natives, brought in contact with the worst side of European civilization, should have some opportunity of seeing its only constructive product—religion. Bishop Bousfield tried to raise money in Johannesburg for a mission on the mines, but without much success, and for long Father C. B. Shaw, who was supported by St. Mary's Parish, was the only English Church missionary on the Reef. His work lay chiefly with the town natives in the location and those in service with the whites, though it spread into a long round of stations in the neighbouring country districts. Johannesburg attracted natives from all over South Africa, and St. Cyprian's Church saw services in Zulu, Sechuana, Xosa and Dutch. The clamour for education led to the establishment of night schools and day schools, for adults and children respectively.

In 1898 the Bishops of Zululand and Lebombo visited the Reef to see the conditions under which their converts who went up to the mines were called to work. They found Archdeacon Temple doing a certain amount of work among the natives at the extreme west end of the Reef, round Krugersdorp; the manager of a mine supported a catechist and mission room at Springs, at the other end; eight catechists were at work at places between, touching perhaps a thousand natives in all. The result was that Provincial Synod resolved that the evangelization of the Rand was a responsibility of the Province, and Canon Farmer was asked to draw up a scheme for carrying on the work.

This scheme is interesting as being in some ways the precursor of that on which the missions of the Reef are being conducted at the present day. The essential point was the establishment of a central house from which the

whole Reef could be worked as a single unit. The staff should consist of at least five European missionaries, each being an expert in one of the languages—Zulu, Sesuto, Sechuana, Xosa, and Chopi—which formed the chief dialects of the mine natives. There should be additional accommodation for visiting missionaries from other parts of South Africa, who should stay for a short time and give assistance with the natives from their own districts. Associated with the Europeans was to be a similar staff of catechists.

The scheme was approved by the Bishops of the Province, but the outbreak of the Boer War prevented its establishment.

During the war all mission work was at a standstill, except at St. Cyprian's, where Father Shaw still carried on, but most of the catechists continued at their duties without supervision, and the work recovered when the mission clergy returned. When the first Report was published (1904) there were four main centres—Pretoria, where Canon Farmer supervised St. Cuthbert's and twelve out-stations, with the assistance of a native priest, whose people contributed about £226 a year; Potchefstroom, where Archdeacon Roberts's mission was self-supporting as far as native workers were concerned; Krugersdorp, where Archdeacon Temple was in charge of a mixed mine and country district; and Johannesburg, where Father Shaw and another white priest had charge of St. Cyprian's.

The missionary work of the Transvaal as at present constituted may be said to have begun with Bishop Carter. He came from the missionary Diocese of Zululand, had learned something of the native mind, and was trusted and reverenced by the native people. At the same time there were no long-standing quarrels with Johannesburg. He was able to persuade several of the great mining corporations to make grants towards missionary work among the natives for whom they were responsible, and to gain for his mission workers freedom to come and go on their

business. With him, too, began the conception of missionary work as a Diocesan affair. Missionary problems were approached as a whole, and central institutions were established to serve the whole Diocese.

Bishop Carter's great innovation was to invite a religious order—the Community of the Resurrection—to undertake the work of the Reef. The two priests assigned to the native side of its work had to learn the whole business of missions from the beginning, but after a short experience of other stations, settled down in a house provided by St. Mary's in Sherwell Street with four natives to train as catechists. The S.P.G. made a block grant of £7,000 to the Diocese from its Bicentenary Fund, which was used to support the native work until it became exhausted. Soon the two members of the Community began to visit the compounds and to preach to the natives—a work needing no small store of courage, both moral and physical. Very soon congregations began to collect, headed by Christians who had come up from other mission districts, and who often did a good deal of informal evangelization on their own account, and the problem of housing them became urgent. There were all sorts of restrictions on building on land held under mining titles, which meant practically all the land along the Reef, and on one occasion at least a Church shanty remained standing in defiance of orders to pull it down. In the end most of the "churches" and "schools" were only ramshackle tin sheds put up on the understanding that they must be moved at a month's notice if the order were given. In one place a congregation received the use of a dilapidated stable, in another an old machine-room, in others the classes met in a corner of the compound. By 1905 the work was being carried on in 43 mine compounds, there were 3 whole-time paid catechists, and between 25 and 30 voluntary preachers from among the natives each Sunday.

The work then spread to the country towns—Heidelberg, Meyerton and Vereeniging, and then to the country,

where the Community took over the stations started by Father Shaw; in 1904 it had twenty-three catechists at work. One enterprising member taught himself to print—which is not nearly so easy as it sounds—and a queer but most useful multi-lingual monthly magazine of Church news was started. The Community also borrowed £50 from the Diocese (repaid out of the profits) to start a shop for selling books—Prayer Books and Bibles—and other Church requirements.

In 1904 fresh land was bought next the Community House in Sherwell Street, and on it were put rooms for sixteen students. The native was becoming self-conscious as the generations slipped by, and the more intelligent were beginning to resent their continual subjection to the European clergy. Bishop Carter, on being approached, promised to ordain a number of suitable catechists to the diaconate, provided they underwent a year's training at the "College" which the Community was steadily bringing into being.

Another outlet for the urge to self-expression was the "Native Conference" held in February of 1905. Bishop Fuller tells in his book how all the Catechists of his district came trooping in to go to Pretoria, instead of the selected few, each believing that he must have been overlooked. Though originally nominated, the lay members are now elected, and, though native methods of ratiocination prove tedious to the European mind, the Conference provides a valuable means of getting into touch with thoughts and aspirations and grievances that would otherwise simmer away out of sight. In 1915 Synod admitted a number of representative native laymen (the native clergy had been present in their own right since the institution of a native ministry), and though they cannot be said to have taken much part in the proceedings—European methods of thought in their turn prove equally puzzling to the native, and reduce him to dumb amazement—their presence has been a useful lesson both to themselves and to their white colleagues.

In 1904 mission work was started in the area around the towns of Rustenburg and Pietersburg, or, rather, some attempt was made to co-ordinate the groups that had already started in a haphazard way. A special priest was appointed to take over the native work round Potchefstroom, while that of the Reef increased to 84 preaching places, served by 48 natives, with a country area involving 45 catechists. Here the salaries of native workers, amounting to £77 a month, were raised entirely by the natives themselves. The Diocesan Report for 1905 gives these figures for what they are worth: communicants, upwards of 5,000; schools, 33; native workers, 205, paid and voluntary.

The great cry was for schools, and the Government was prepared to pay grants to schools with approved teachers in charge. Most of the schools then belonging to the Church were amateurish and inefficient, and it became necessary to establish a place for the training of native teachers. In 1905 the Community of the Resurrection acquired a farm near Pietersburg which was renamed Grâce-Dieu. It was cheap, but the cheapness was due to a bleak site and a complete absence of water. There is a tradition that Bishop Furse, visiting the place while still Archdeacon, was once offered a cup of tea made from the water in which he had just washed his hands! Here, through the enthusiasm and energy of Father Fuller, a college was started in 1907, which, after some vicissitudes, has built up a reputation that extends beyond the borders of the Transvaal. During the critical years it was under the direction of W. A. Palmer, now Dean of Johannesburg, and a fine block of buildings designed by Mr. Fleming of Baker and Fleming will accommodate sixty students, workshops, and a school for 150 children, while the women's work associated with it is under the control of the Grahamstown Sisters.

In 1914 the Community of the Resurrection moved their headquarters from the old wood and iron shanties of Sherwell Street to a site in Rosettenville on a hill

overlooking the Reef. St. Peter's Priory, and the College of the Resurrection next door, are dignified, if simple, examples of the work of a modern architect, but more interesting is a great native church, built in basilican style, which was designed by Father Victor, and carried out by native workmanship. The native himself probably misses the trimness and mathematical accuracy of the white work he has learned to admire, but the European delights in the bare spaces, the variegated texture of the plastered walls, and decorations that have been carried out in the style of the coloured daubings of a native kraal. St. Peter's Priory houses the brethren of the Community, in the College are trained the Catechists who have to do most of the work of maintaining the mission work of the Church, and who come back to it again for further training if they are thought suitable for the ministry.

The history of mission work in the Transvaal is largely the history of its institutions. The Catechists' College and the Training College were necessary preliminaries, but recent years have seen the development of work among women and girls, medical work in the country and the towns, and the beginnings of industrial education.

The servant problem of South Africa is concerned not so much with the quantity as the nature and quality of the labour available. Most of the housework is done by native men, and these, divorced from their homes, and seeing their families only at the end of a spell of several months' service, form the great bulk of the town population. This is by no means satisfactory, but the employment of young native women, usually as nurse-maids, provides its own problems. Girls drift up in large numbers to the towns, away from the control of their families, and the easy-going morality of the kraal degenerates into a licence that is not only a degradation to the native races as a whole, but, with its accompaniment of disease, a serious danger to the white population. The elaborate pass system keeps the male native classified

and inspected and vaccinated and medically examined, but no such restrictions apply to the native girl.

In Pretoria a Native Girls' Home was started in 1913 as a memorial to Miss Trist, a former mission worker, to provide a place where native girls could sleep in comparatively decent surroundings. Through the devoted care of Miss A. E. Bridge the work developed, hampered by inadequate housing, and by no means welcomed by municipal authorities and European neighbours, until now ninety girls can be accommodated. The inmates are all in service with white mistresses, and the Home has come to be regarded as a sort of domestic service bureau, which is both flattering and, at times, disconcerting. The girls have to be in by a certain hour at night, mission work is done among them, and their evenings are occupied to keep them off the streets. Supervision is a thankless and wearing task. The Native Affairs Department recognizes the value of the Home by a small grant, but the whole work is sordid and unromantic, one that only the self-sacrificing devotion of a Christian would undertake. A similar Home is carried on in Buxton Street in Johannesburg, and in this city, with its immense native population, attempts are being made to provide some sort of club life and occupation for the younger women. The conditions of their existence leave them with no outlet and no possibilities of recreation. A beginning has been made towards establishing a Settlement House in Sophiatown, where three or four white women will live and try to work up social activities, clubs, mothers' schools, and so on. It is difficult as yet to say upon what lines these clubs will work, but detachments have been formed of Girl Wayfarers—the native equivalent of Girl Guides—and the workers at the Girls' Hostel conduct a native Church Women's Society, Sunday School and prison work, besides games, singing, dancing, sewing and handwork, and the usual forms of social occupation.

Another side of the work is to be seen in St. Agnes's

School at Rosettenville, which was started in 1909 to attempt the industrial education of native girls. The school is Government-aided and Government-inspected, and the teaching includes needlework, cooking, laundry-work and gardening, but the buildings will not accommodate more than forty, and the numbers turned out each year can hardly be expected to leaven the lump of barbarism.

At Rosettenville there is also an important secondary school under Father Winter, which has gained the commendation of Government officials. The native school conducted at Pietersburg by Mrs. Fuller has also been recognized by the Education Department as of secondary school rank. These schools are designed to act as a link between the many primary schools conducted by the Church and the native University College at Fort Hare.

Another work which has been left to the Church to carry out is the medical care of the great locations along the Reef. In March, 1927, a woman doctor began a daily clinic in Sophiatown; others have been opened at Klipspruit location, Germiston, Benoni and Boksburg. Another woman doctor and a voluntary European nurse have been added to the staff, and it is hoped that further clinics will be opened. Over 3,000 new cases have been put on the books since the mission started, and in six months of 1928 the outside calls reached 400. Special baby clinics were started to deal with the appalling infant mortality, and 200 babies are on the books. The mission subsists on small fees paid by the patients, is practically self-supporting, and certainly cannot be said to pauperize the native.

The other medical work of the Church is the Jane Furse Mission Hospital among the Bapedi people in what is usually called Sekukuniland. Founded in 1919 as a memorial to Jane, the daughter of Bishop Furse, it stands on a bleak hillside nearly a hundred miles from the nearest railway as a centre of the Christian faith and Christian

practice. The station has had much to contend with, notably the lack of water, an appalling want in a hospital, and the traditional suspicion of the native for European medicine. The Government pays a small grant to the medical officer, and the Church has supplied buildings, equipment and the other requirements of the hospital. There is accommodation for a number of patients in the hospital, a good many outpatients are attended to, while visits are made to the neighbouring villages. Patients are expected to make some payment for what they receive.

The hospital is the centre of a mission district, where some very effective work is being done. Sekukuniland is a heathen stronghold. The old chief harried the converts of the German missionaries sixty years ago, and even today persecution of Christians is not unknown.

The one point on which economists and far-sighted people in South Africa are agreed is that the native should be encouraged to become a producer. The present policy of treating him simply as a supply of cheap labour is an uneconomic use of the country's chief economic asset. Native agriculture is primitive and wasteful: the native agriculturist actually produces less than he needs, and enquiry has shown that the native reserves are financed by members who work in the towns. The dominant need of the country is that the native should be taught to produce more, and produce more economically, thus increasing the national wealth. (Much is being done in the Transkei in this direction.) In the absence of Government action, which is hindered by short-sighted fears, the Church must begin the work of agricultural and industrial education.

A scheme to undertake this task was established just after the Great War, and became part of the Diocesan War Memorial, the white Churchfolk undertaking to pay pound for pound of the money collected by the natives. A farm was bought in the Lichtenburg District and named Cyrene, in one of the native reserves of the Western Transvaal, on the edge of the great native areas of

Bechuanaland. The idea was that three-quarters should be taken up in small-holdings by native Churchpeople, leaving the remainder as site for an industrial and agricultural school. The scheme has been beset by misfortunes, of which the chief was the early death of the Rev. F. J. Sharman, whose burning enthusiasm had been the driving force of the scheme, followed by the disturbing influence of the diggings, which have turned the neighbourhood upside down both literally and figuratively, with no compensating advantage.

None the less Cyrene stands for two fundamental principles in the solution of the native question, the grant of security of tenure to native families—and the training of the native industrialist and agriculturist in modern economical methods. Sooner or later the Church must face the problem (and the sooner the better), since only thus will the native obtain that self-respect and self-confidence that will turn him from a danger to an asset to the State.

The history of mission work in the Transvaal has had no startling developments; even the beginning of the Native Mission Central Fund by Bishop Furse in 1910 was a matter of book-keeping rather than of policy. The real interest lies in the organization of the work in the field, which, since the early days, has preserved more or less the same lines. The early missionaries, however, worked independently of one another. Each Diocese at the present day has its Director of Missions, and some attempt is made to co-ordinate the work as a whole.

Missions in the Transvaal fall roughly under the heads of the Reef, which is administered by the Community of the Resurrection as a single unit with a staff resident at St. Peter's Priory; the Towns, one or two like Pretoria and Potchefstroom having their own European missionary, the rest receiving what scanty attention the priest in charge can spare from his white work; and the Country, which is administered by a priest from the town. The Reef work has been described above; the town work, the hardest

and certainly the most dispiriting, lies among the "locations" of the towns, such "houseboys" and servant-girls as can be persuaded to attend, and an attempt is made to keep touch with the Christians who come in from the farms; the country work is scattered in little congregations either upon the farms of Europeans or in the villages of the great reserves.

Missionary work in the Transvaal is based upon the catechist, and no better description of his duties can be devised than that of Bishop Fuller in his "Romance of a South African Mission": "First he finds a congregation . . . he gathers them together for services; it then becomes his duty to get a church built, and he often makes the bricks, the windows and the doors, makes his own plan and does the building himself. The womenfolk and the children cut the grass for the thatch, and plait the grass string which will bind the thatch to the rafters. . . . When the building is finished he builds an altar and the women plaster the whole place, outside and in, and colour the walls white, decorating them with blue, red and yellow patterns. The floor is made of ant-hills broken up and stamped hard, and is washed, and again in patterns, with a wash of cow-dung and water. There are no seats, but the catechist contrives a prayer desk, a lectern and two or three stools; and he collects money from the congregation to buy a cross and two candlesticks for the altar, some cotton material for hangings, and, if possible, a bell.

"Every day at sunrise he rings his bell, and people who are near enough meet for morning service: he visits the congregation . . . he teaches the children the Catechism, how to behave in church and how to sing hymns . . . he visits the sick, exhorts sinners, and buries the dead: he collects church subscriptions and finds out newcomers: he converts the heathen and brings them to the priest, who admits them . . . catechumens: he teaches them in class for a year, and again brings them to the priest to be prepared for baptism. After baptism he again teaches them in preparation for confirmation: he has two services

a Sunday and a class in the afternoon: he ploughs and sows the land during three months, and his wife and daughters hoe it while the mealies are growing."

But Bishop Fuller is no sentimentalist carried away by his own fervour. "This," he adds, "is what a good catechist does in the country. Sometimes they are not good."

The description is, of course, of the ideal catechist, and he is as rare as the ideal in any other walk of life; but on these men depends the evangelization of the country, and the work of the College of the Resurrection in training them is thus of supreme importance.

Above the catechist stands the mission priest, who is in charge of a district often as big as the Kingdom of Israel of old, with a staff of catechists and perhaps a native priest or deacon or two. From time to time he leaves his centre—usually once a quarter—in the old days by mule cart or bicycle, nowadays more often in the "mission car." One of these last was once described as "the primæval ancestor and progenitor of all Ford cars—a car which, when South Africa has its South Kensington Museum, will certainly take its place among all prehistoric chariots." The round takes several days, but the town church cannot be left for long, and at stated places he camps out. The people come in, sometimes in hundreds, from the surrounding country. Then the priest has to inspect the work of the catechists, collect church dues and sign membership cards, talk to heathen whom the catechist brings along, settle disputes, examine catechumens and candidates for baptism, administer the Sacraments, hear confessions, put notorious sinners under discipline, tasks which demand sincere religious devotion, physical endurance, the tact and skill of a first-class diplomatist of the old régime—and the patience of Job! For these duties are not gone through briskly, but in that leisurely, thorough-going way, getting down to the roots of each problem and analyzing it in all its possible aspects and variations, which is the native method of doing serious business.

Talk on matters of this sort may last long into the night. Next morning comes a celebration of the Communion, final directions and talk, and then a move on to the next place. It is work which cannot be hurried, for the country has not yet adapted its traditional pace of the ox-waggon to that of the missionary's Ford. Rather, the work ought not to be hurried but often is, with disastrous results, on account of the vast area that each mission priest is supposed to cover.

The actual searching for converts and instruction of the heathen, the real forward work of the Church, is usually done by the catechists. Sometimes the village is big enough to support a school, and this provides a means of keeping touch with the younger generation and perhaps of doing a little propaganda. The Government Education Department pays a grant towards each certificated teacher employed in an approved school under the charge of a European missionary, and also a small sum towards equipment. Everything else, including the school building, has to be provided for out of the tiny school fees that the parents can afford.

As far as its own workers are concerned, the native work is practically self-supporting. The educational work is expected to pay for itself and does, but beside his school fees every male native communicant is expected to contribute 1s. per month as a church due and every woman 6d. In addition to this the native contributes to the upkeep of the church and church services, and "Sethlabelo," or the extension fund. The so-called "church shilling" is paid with commendable regularity, though the total amount received varies with the state of agriculture and the goodness or otherwise of the season.

Canon Farmer found in his day that "it was a tradition with them—how derived I do not know—that each communicant should give a sixpenny piece to the offertory, so they used to provide themselves previously with this." When the Community of the Resurrection took over their native work they "began to expound to the

people the great principle that in proportion as they do their part in supporting the work of the Church, so will they prove their fitness to have their due share in Church government." The result is that at the present day native contributions meet practically all the expense of their own catechists and clergy. The cost of the institutions and of the European mission priests and transport is met out of the liberal grants made to the Transvaal by S.P.G., funds collected by "Transvaal and Southern Rhodesian Missions," and a few contributions by the white people of the country.

Native work is full of difficulty and bitter disappointments. Most of the converts have changed very recently from heathendom, and sometimes from no very deep conviction. The writer was once told by a mission priest that of all his converts he could think of only one who seemed to have come through a genuine love of the faith and with no ulterior motive. Bishop Fuller notes the extraordinary way in which converts, whose sins have been open and notorious, will deny having anything on their conscience, while others will confess with extravagant contrition to general sinfulness, and yet be unable to remember a single sin. The solution lies probably in the great gulf between the European code of morality, generally accepted as a code even by those who violate it most flagrantly, and the native, to whom some things are not sins at all, and others merely peccadilloes. The former native, therefore, genuinely feels no remorse, the other is convinced that he must have contravened the missionary's code somewhere, but his conscience cannot suggest how.

Christians whose conduct has been excellent, and who have been shining examples of their profession, may fall suddenly into gross sin, and have to undergo months of public penance before restoration. Native priests have been known to fall, after all the care that is spent in selecting and training the native ministry. Even Jacob Dabani himself, whose mode of life had something apos-

tolic in its style and fervour, and who convinced all who met him with his sincerity, was mixed up in a confusion of charge and countercharge, with rebuttals and accusations of false witness, piled on one another, that left Bishop Bousfield and his mission priest distracted, and the truth unknown to this day.

The old customs and superstitions of the heathen are still very close to the surface—do not Norse superstitions survive in England to this day?—and flare up on occasion. A prolonged drought will send a whole congregation, catechist included, off to the neighbouring rain-making chief or witch doctor, and, since the visit has usually been postponed to the last moment, it is often followed by rain! These rites and customs, especially those connected with puberty, the circumcision "schools" for boys and initiation ceremonies for girls, provide a perpetual puzzle for the missionary. They preserve a tribal self-consciousness and self-respect which is all to the good: no man can be a member of the tribe who has not passed through them; much of the teaching given in them seems to be good, even if it be no more than a certain grim stoicism, but it is mixed up with a system of sexual instruction and incitement that to the European seems indescribably degraded. In some dialects it is impossible to translate the word "virgin."

These difficulties make the training of the native clergy a matter of crucial importance, for the standard of morality they practise will be the ideal of their flocks. The European missionary is subject to moods of intense depression at his apparent failure, but these are as unreasonable as his optimism after great services where the devotion and demeanour of his flock have seemed to point to genuine religious exaltation. The native Christian has his feet on the ladder of evolution, but he has not yet climbed far. The historian is reminded irresistibly of Merovingian days in Gaul and the early Saxon Church in England, when the austere morality and high example of the Italian missionaries had died out, and the

descendants of their converts were finding their way, through much the same combination of genuine devotion, exalted ideals, and low achievement, from the heathendom that was in their blood towards the standards of the Christian Church.

A tendency that the missionary soon finds necessary to check is that which finds outlet in "revivalism." If the experience of the Southern States of America is to be trusted, this phenomenon has a peculiar appeal to the African native. A congregation soon learns the method from one of the obscure little sects that flourish and decay all around, and its members seek to find an outlet for their emotion in the monotonous wailing of hymns for hours at a stretch, and other manifestations of religious exaltation, a practice which may be, and frequently is, divorced entirely from any sort of Christian ethical achievement. One Easter Day not long ago a lady mission worker found the children of her class dropping off to sleep one after another. Enquiry showed that the catechist, though he hotly denied it, had kept the congregation in church the whole night through, occupied in that dreary wailing of hymns which is a characteristic of native worship.

The management of a native congregation calls for no small degree of tact. Inspired, probably, by the sight of the "unhappy divisions" of the European, natives are given to the multiplication of religious bodies. With so many contending Christian sects there is little opportunity of inspiring loyalty to the Church, and some chance disagreement will send a congregation off into schism. Anglican catechists have a knack of promoting themselves to the episcopate. Not long ago there existed a sect presided over by an "Archbishop and Metropolitan"—formerly catechist—and a hierarchy of Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons, all deriving from the Primate! The career of such a sect is usually brief. Further schisms break out, and groups go off in divers directions. Its history frequently ends in a free fight between rival factions for possession of the miserable shack of bits of

corrugated iron and petrol tins that forms the "church," and the consequent intervention of the police.

Then there is the difficulty of language. In Johannesburg and Pretoria the congregations are composed of diverse elements, and two languages at least are needed. The sight of a preacher taking his stand with an interpreter on either side may have a certain impressiveness, but it leads to the prolongation of any but the shortest sermon to unbearable length, and is an effective bar to any real oratorical effect.

Interpreters are not always absolutely trustworthy. Many stories are told of their vagaries, but one will serve. A certain Bishop was present at the marriage of one of his native priests, and took the opportunity of delivering a homily on Christian marriage. "Bear ye one another's burdens" was his text, and he began the application by saying that the wife's duty was to bear the burden of her husband. The interpreter rendered this as "to carry her husband's luggage on her head." "It is the husband's duty," went on the Bishop, "to bear the burden of his wife." The interpreter looked distressed: this did not seem at all right. The Bishop noticed his hesitation, and explained "the husband should take care of and look after his wife." The interpreter brightened. "It is the husband's business," he announced, "to keep an eye on his wife!"

This does not pretend to be an exhaustive, nor even, perhaps, representative list of the difficulties that beset the mission priest. They may give an indication of the great problem which must be faced and conquered, if the Church of the Province, or the English Church as a whole, is to justify its existence.

But it would be misleading to end on a note of pessimism. The difficulties are there, and they must be recognized to be faced, but they must not be allowed to obscure the actual achievement of the Church. In many ways the Anglican Church is in a peculiarly fortunate position to direct the infant Christianity of the Bantu. It is able to

draw on the missionary experience of past ages, to use the methods of discipline exercised on new converts by the primitive Church, and the devotional practices which appealed to our own ancestors when they were young in the faith, and combines these with the power of adapting all that is good in the newer experience of Protestantism.

The division of the Diocese, whatever the financial problems raised, has undoubtedly achieved its main object in making possible the supervision of the work. For the first time the Director of Missions of a Transvaal Diocese, freed from the pressing responsibility of the Rand, has been able to visit all the mission districts of the northern part, and really to supervise the work. Existing missionary activity has been tightened up, and is more efficient than it has ever been before.

Meanwhile the native ministry is growing more competent and more trustworthy. The work of the two training institutions is beginning to be felt. A new generation of Christians is growing up, free from the taint of heathendom, and produces candidates for the ministry who combine character and sincere devotion with good education and regular training. Native priests are already at work who can be given a large share of responsibility, and whose influence upon the heathen must inevitably be greater than that of the old, well-meaning, but often half-instructed and blundering catechist.

The future gives scope for optimism, and one who looks back on what has been achieved in the past can go forward to face its tasks with an assurance born of the consciousness of great things done.

But the needs are many.

Every one of the institutions established by the Church is in constant and urgent need of money. Many are Government-aided, thus testifying to their efficiency, but the grants never account for more than a fraction, sometimes a very small one, of the total cost.

The greatest and most pressing need is for the service

of men and women to carry on the work, and in particular for the young, who will be prepared to settle down to study the problem from the very beginning. Many of the most successful German and Wesleyan missionaries of today are the children of other missionaries, and grew up in the midst of the people whom they now instruct. Too many of our own workers have been well-meaning amateurs, making blunder after blunder through sheer ignorance of elementary native lore. It is no longer true, if ever it was the case, that only enthusiasm is required for mission work. Much has been done in recent years in the field of the ethnology and sociology of the Bantu, and there is no longer any excuse for the bungling methods of the past.

Above all, the mission worker should be young enough to acquire an accurate and fluent knowledge of at least one native language, and be able to use it as a key to the minds of those who speak it. The hearing of confessions through an interpreter is surely to destroy the whole meaning of the Sacrament of Penance.

This cannot be done by the method of pitchforking a new arrival into a mission district and leaving him to sink or swim. The religious orders—the Community of the Resurrection at Rosettenville, the Society of St. John the Evangelist at St. Cuthbert's, Tsolo, and the Society of the Sacred Mission at Modderpoort in the Diocese of Bloemfontein—are able to do something for their members. For the secular priest nothing of the sort exists. More than anything else the Church needs a great mission centre in the north, an institution properly equipped and properly manned, such as those that exist among other religious bodies and in other parts of the country, to serve as a "capital" or headquarters of missionary work. Here would be concentrated the administration of the mission district, that industrial work which is the chief need of the present day, schools, and medical work. The Christian natives of the north would then have some centre to which to look, and the heathen a visible token

both of the power and of the achievement of the Church in their midst.

The need for such an institution in the north has been recognized fully by the authorities of the Pretoria Diocese. The task seems to call for a religious order, which would be in a much stronger position to secure the proper training of its members (there are three University institutions in South Africa which have specialized in Bantu studies) and the continuity of their work. The Diocese has appealed several times, but none have come forward in response, and the labours of the present staff can do little more than maintain the ground already won.

The old Diocese was divided chiefly in order to enable the mission field provided by the tribes of the northern Transvaal to be properly attacked. The map shows that the mountains of the North and Eastern Transvaal are closely inhabited by native tribes. There are still some, after all these years, which have not been touched by missionaries of any denomination. It is the last opportunity of the English Church. The Wesleyans, Germans and Swiss have already accomplished a vast work, far exceeding anything that she has attempted. In the northern Diocese, with this vast population, there are only three white priests engaged solely in native work. Far too many catechists are only visited occasionally, by the changing priests in charge of white congregations, men who know no native language and nothing of missionary work, and, as a general rule, do not remain long enough even to begin to realize its scope.

In a few years the last opportunity will have passed from the Church and it will be too late.

There is still time for the English Church to undertake the evangelization of the north, but missionary methods have changed with the years. Vague goodwill is not enough, and the work demands the pick of intellectual youth, inspired with dauntless devotion, and prepared to take advantage of every aid that scientific training and expert organization can bestow.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH OF THE JUBILEE

THE constitution of the two Transvaal Dioceses is embodied in a series of "Rules and Regulations" which are substantially those enacted by Synod in 1908. Divergences between the two Dioceses are very slight.

With the spiritual side of the work the "Rules and Regulations," being largely administrative in character, have very little to do. This is vested, as everywhere throughout the Anglican communion, in the Ministry with its threefold Order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. The spiritual oversight, which is different from his administrative powers, rests with the Bishop, and the cure of souls is exercised in each ecclesiastical district by the incumbent acting under his licence.

The Bishop is elected, according to primitive precedent, by the clergy of the Diocese, with the assent of representatives of the laity. The mandate for the election is given by the Archbishop as Metropolitan of the Province, and the Dean, or in his absence the Senior Priest of the Diocese, issues the summons to an Elective Assembly. The clergy are summoned individually, the lay representatives elected by a special meeting of the Parochial Council, or a meeting of male communicants of the parish who are of full age.

On the appointed day, after a celebration of the Holy Communion, the Assembly is constituted with the Dean as President, and the qualifications of members are scrutinized. The Assembly then decides whether to proceed to election or to delegate the choice to the Bishops of the Province. If the former is approved, after nominations, the priests and the representatives of the Deacons proceed to vote by word of mouth and in writing. When a candi-

date has obtained a two-thirds majority of the House of Clergy his name must receive the assent of two-thirds of the House of Laity, and he is then declared duly elected. The name of the Bishop-elect must be proclaimed on two successive Sundays in the cathedral, to permit of canonical objections being raised. The Court of Confirmation and Consecration are matters for the Provincial authorities, but after consecration the Bishop-elect presents himself at his cathedral with the traditional ceremonial, and, after the customary declarations, is enthroned by the Dean.

Beside his spiritual powers the Bishop has a number of administrative duties. He presides over Synod, is Chairman of the Diocesan Trustees, of the Diocesan Finance Board, and all important Committees, and chief executive officer of the Diocese. In this capacity he is responsible for the initiation of policy and for coming to a decision on all routine matters of importance. He represents the Church on public occasions, and in dealing with Governmental, municipal and other public bodies, must carry on all the delicate negotiations required of any head of an important organization.

He is responsible for counsel and advice to the white clergy, is called in to settle differences between them and their flocks, to investigate scandals, and if necessary punish the wrongdoer. By Provincial Canon he has certain judicial duties assigned, and by the Diocesan Rules must preside over the Consistory Court. The native work involves frequent exercise of discipline, and judgment in difficult matters both of fact and morals. The supervision of the parishes and mission districts entails ceaseless travelling—even with two Bishops in the Transvaal it is by no means easy to catch one of them at home—every white centre expects a visit at least once a year, and mission churches should receive constant attention from their spiritual head.

The dignitaries of the Diocese are the Dean and the Archdeacon. Canons exist in both Pretoria and Johannes-

burg, but there is no Cathedral Chapter, and the title is an honorary distinction.

The Dean is Senior Priest of the Diocese, and in each city is also Rector of a parish. By the "Rules" he has the cure of souls within the cathedral and its precincts, and exercises the functions of Archdeacon within the cathedral church, and in the cathedral city within limits prescribed by the Bishop. In the absence of the Bishop he presides in Synod, and during voidance of the See, or if no Vicar-General has been appointed, administers the spiritualities. He presides at the Assembly to elect the Bishop. Usually, though not necessarily, the Bishop appoints him Vicar-General during his own absence from the Diocese.

The duties of the Archdeacon are practically to relieve the Diocesan of as much of the routine work as possible. He is required to be a priest of at least seven years' standing, and is responsible for the oversight of the finances, church fabric, and property of the parishes. Members of the Parochial Councils are admitted to office by him or his deputy. No alterations or additions to buildings may be made without application to the Bishop through the Archdeacon, a certificate that all Church property is intact must be submitted to him every year, and he must receive an audited copy of the accounts of each parish. The Archdeacon of the present day does not incur that universal execration that led malicious mediæval undergraduates to debate "Whether an archdeacon can be saved," but he is still expected to serve as a very practical *oculus episcopi*.

In the Diocese of Johannesburg the Archdeacon is an extra-parochial official, but reasons of economy have led the Diocese of Pretoria to combine the post with that of Director of Native Missions. This last official, though not strictly speaking an officer of the Diocese, is responsible for the initiation and execution of mission policy.

The lay officers of the Diocese are the Chancellor, required to be an advocate of the Supreme Court, who

is the legal adviser of the Diocese, the Bishop's assessor and deputy in judicial matters; the Registrar, charged with the care and oversight of Diocesan and Parochial records; the custodian of the title deeds of Diocesan property and Secretary to the Diocesan Trustees; and the Bursar, whom modern developments have made a most important person—the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of Finance of the Diocese. These hold their office from the Bishop and are appointed for a term of seven years; their work is done for the Church without charge. Another important officer is the Diocesan Surveyor, a qualified architect, to whom plans for suggested alterations and new buildings have to be submitted.

The centralization of the Diocese, with its consequent monthly cheques to the clergy and (nominally) monthly payments of assessments by parishes, makes necessary a Diocesan Office, presided over by the Diocesan Secretary, a full-time appointment, who in Johannesburg has a staff of clerks, but in Pretoria reigns in solitary splendour.

The Bishop and chief Diocesan officials—the Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Registrar and Bursar—form the Board of Trustees, which holds the title deeds of all Church property, invests trust moneys, and supervises the capital funds of parishes. No loan may be raised by a parish without the consent of the Trustees, who prescribe the limits of indebtedness.

The most important of the governing bodies of the Diocese is the Diocesan Finance Board, which acts in many ways as an unofficial Cabinet to the Bishop. Its membership consists of the Bishop and the Bursar, the Archdeacon, a representative of native missions appointed by the Bishop, and four clergymen and twelve laymen elected by Synod. Its duties are to supervise and administer funds, draw up estimates, and present accounts of revenue and expenditure for Synod. Nominally intended only for the administration of finance, it enables the Bishop to come in contact with representative opinion, especially lay opinion, of the Diocese. Since finance

plays so large a part in public affairs, the advice it gives may affect important matters of Diocesan policy.

Other Boards and Committees are elected by Synod for special purposes—missions, works of mercy and education—but that of finance is easily the most important.

The legislative body of the Diocese is Synod, composed of the Bishop and clergy and representatives chosen by the parish councils in rough proportion to the number of their communicants.

At the present day Synod opens on a Sunday with a celebration of the Holy Communion. After the Nicene Creed the roll is called, and the Bishop delivers his charge. The next day it meets for business. Every effort is made to give the sessions fitting dignity. The clergy attend the opening service in surplice and hood, and ordinary sessions in cassock, while graduates wear academic dress. The Bishop as President is in scarlet convocation robes, and on the table before him lie the open Bible and the pastoral staff.

The business of Synod is Diocesan legislation, though as the Church system in the Transvaal becomes more settled the "Rules and Regulations" achieve comparative stability. Much of the work of the Church has to be carried on by Committees, which report to Synod. A liberal education in the work of the Church is to be found in the reports of Diocesan organizations, institutions and works of mercy. Synod also discusses subjects of general policy, and on occasion passes resolutions on matters of national interest for transmission to the public authority concerned.

The most important part of the business of Synod nowadays is financial. After the Budget speech of the Bursar it goes into Committee to discuss the accounts of the past and estimates for the forthcoming year. Fresh works are authorized or applications heard for the reduction of parochial assessments.

Synod is composed of three Houses, the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity—and on the demand of a majority of one

House the Clergy and Laity may sit and vote separately. Most business, however, is done in full Synod, and the Houses sit and vote together. Amendments to the "Rules and Regulations" must be passed by each House separately, and any member may demand a vote by orders on any question. The Laity vote first, the Clergy only if the measure has passed the House of Laity.

The great weakness of Synod is the comparatively small attendance of lay folk. This is not due to lack of interest, but in the northern Diocese in particular distances are great and expense a serious consideration. It is not always easy for the person elected to find the four or five days necessary for the Synod and the journey to the See city and back. The election of members living in Pretoria and Johannesburg to represent country parishes is a partial solution, of which more use might be made in the future than has been in the past, but which naturally destroys the personal link between Diocese and parish. According to tradition, hospitality is provided in the town of meeting for all members of Synod, clerical and lay.

The revenue of a Diocese comes from endowments, which usually only provide for the episcopal stipend, assessments on parishes, special contributions from individuals, and the so-called "English Money"—contributions from S.P.G., S.P.C.K., and the diocesan association in England. Its expenditure falls under the heads of the Bishopric, Archdeacons and Diocesan Office, upkeep of See property, stipends of clergy, pension fund and furlough fund, transport allowance, mission work, and printing, stationery and other sundries.

Some mention should be made here of "Sacred Synod," an institution created by Bishop Carter, to which are summoned the clergy of the Diocese alone. It usually meets two or three days before the General Synod, and discusses matters affecting the clergy. One day is usually set aside for a Retreat or other devotional exercise.

The unit on which the Diocese is built is the parish. Some confusion is caused by the use of the terms Parish, Chapelry, and District, but the distinction is largely technical. A parish must be constituted by Act of Synod, specifying the parish church and laying down the boundaries. This can only be done in the case of a settled congregation. Chapelries and districts, which differ only in name, may be formed at the discretion of the Bishop, with boundaries specified by him, and altered as he thinks fit. The usual procedure is for a new "district" to be put under the care of a "priest in charge," a more settled centralized area becomes a "chapelry" under a "Vicar," finally it is constituted a "parish" by Synod, and the incumbent becomes a "Rector."

In practice there is little or no difference between a chapelry and a parish, though a district usually contains a wide area with a number of small congregations, each of which may possess some sort of organization. The use of the terms Rector and Vicar is thus purely arbitrary, and has no analogy with English institutions.

Patronage throughout the Diocese is vested in the Bishop, to be exercised in consultation with and with the concurrence of the Parochial Council. In the event of a disagreement lasting six months the presentation would lapse to the Metropolitan, whose choice, not being of one of those over whom Bishop and parish had failed to agree, would be final.

The spiritual functions of the parish—the "cure of souls"—are performed under the Bishop's licence by the incumbent, who is solemnly instituted by the Bishop or his commissary.

The parish or chapelry as a whole acts through its vestry, which must meet at least once a year, after due notice, in Eastertide. All qualified parishioners have a vote, and the functions of the vestry are to pass the annual accounts and approve the estimates, elect Churchwardens and Sidesmen and, subject to the approval of the

Diocesan Trustees, authorize the acquisition of property and its sale, mortgage or lease.

The Parochial Council consists of the Churchwardens, a "convenient" number of Sidesmen, and women members not exceeding the males in number. It is required to meet once a month, and its main business is financial: the raising of the sum of money—the "assessment"—which Synod, on the advice of the Finance Board, has considered a reasonable amount for the parish to contribute to the common purse, funds for the upkeep of the parsonage house, the salaries of the organist and any other of the "lay staff," insurance and maintenance of the church fabric and other buildings, and so on. It enables the incumbent to keep in touch with opinion in his parish, and many things are discussed at Parochial Council meetings which, strictly speaking, do not fall within its powers.

CHAPTER X

INSTITUTIONS AND WORKS OF MERCY

THIS chapter is not for anyone searching for a cudgel wherewith to belabour the Church: it is better suited to one who is anxious to find good use for his money. Two gibes are commonly levelled against the Christian Church: the first that it is an association of selfish people who care only for the salvation of their own souls, the other that it is always worrying and begging for money. Like most objections of their kind, these very largely cancel each other.

Of course the Church worries for money. If it is to justify its existence it will have to worry a good deal more, and, in proportion as men fail to realize their obligations, it must raise its voice still louder. For under modern conditions money is the test of devotion as well as the measure of labour. The catechist in a native kraal can call upon his people to testify their devotion to their church by building it in person: in mediæval times the test of patriotism was willingness to take up arms on behalf of the city. Under our present economic conditions both church-building and patriotism are measured in terms of hard cash.

There must be few who dare confess that their patriotism is dimmed by demands for income tax: no father pleads that he cannot love his family because of its expense. No less inappropriate is it that demands for money should be made a pretext for diatribes against the Church. It is probably true that the efficiency of a religious organization can be tested by the amount of money for which it finds a use.

There follows here an account of some of the institutions and works of mercy undertaken by the Church in the

Transvaal, given, if possible, in the words of those responsible for their management. Those among whites may be classified under the heads of Orphanages, Educational work, and Social Institutions.

The oldest institution of the sort belonging to the English Church in the Transvaal is *St. Mary's Orphanage for Girls* at Rosettenville, whose early history has been told above. It is now twenty-six years old, and established in buildings of a simple dignity that have taken the place of the wood and iron barrack of its early days. The Home is supported by an energetic committee of men and women of Johannesburg, whose work would be easier if others did their share; the number of children now in the institution is over a hundred; and a Government School is conducted on the premises.

The establishment of a Home for boys came considerably later. The need for accommodating boys who had grown too old for St. Mary's led Synod to pass a resolution in 1913 approving the establishment of a boys' orphanage, but the outbreak of the war delayed the project. In the end, *St. George's Home* was opened on October 7, 1915, on a site at Cleveland, near Johannesburg, which had been leased by the Geldenhuis Deep for twenty-five years at a nominal ground rent of £1. The existing buildings on the site, together with a donation of £50, were presented by the Rand Mines. The first Head was the Rev. Noel Aldridge, an enthusiastic Scoutmaster, who proceeded to run the Home on Scout lines. Labour costs were reduced by teaching the boys to do everything they could for themselves, and a definite attempt was made to prevent the "institution" taint from infecting the Home.

The death of the first Head in the following year was a great blow: his place was taken by the Rev. O. W. L. Skey, now Archdeacon of Johannesburg, who was Head altogether for eight years. After the War the provision of permanent buildings was made the major part of the Diocesan War Memorial. Bishop Furse was emphatic

that they should be the work of a first-class architect, and such that those who had lost the advantages of home and early training could look back upon with pride.

The Government conducts a special primary school on the premises, and older boys go out to high schools and technical schools, or to work. They remain at the Home until the age of eighteen, or until they can support themselves by their earnings. The Home began with sixteen boys and has now expanded to house 150. The site is one of fifty acres, and the buildings cost £27,000. St. George's is administered by a committee of Johannesburg people. It is doing a fine work, and is an institution of which both Church and city may well be proud.

St. Joseph's Home is intended for "coloured" or Eurafrican children, a class whose lot is in many ways the most unhappy of the population. The need had long been recognized, and the Home was proposed as far back as 1913. After the War the proposal was revived at the Diocesan Conference of 1919 to discuss the War Memorial. It was then accepted as the coloured peoples' share of that Memorial, and would not have come into existence but for the faithful work done amongst this community at St. Alban's, Ferreirastown. Not a little of the money was subscribed by the people themselves, and the first block, accommodating nineteen girls and one small boy, was opened in September, 1923. There is urgent need for extension. Plans have been prepared for a central block to accommodate 69 girls and 30 boys at a cost of £8,000, and an appeal will be launched soon.

The educational work of the Church was one of the chief cares of Bishop Bousfield, and the first school to be founded by him has survived all its vicissitudes and still carries on its task. The history of St. Etheldreda's School, and its later development *St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls* at Pretoria, has already been told. The school has lately been housed on a new site in the educational colony to the east of Pretoria. Here it is able at last to do justice to its work. There is a heavy debt of some thousands of

pounds on the buildings, which deflects much of the income to interest payments, and hampers the activities of the school. It now awaits the munificent folk, whether a single great benefactor or a thousand small ones, who will release it from the crushing load of debt.

Next in seniority comes *St. John's College*. Little can be added to what has been said above. To a site which is among the very finest in South Africa are being added buildings, designed by Sir Herbert Baker, which it would be difficult to equal in the country. The Community of the Resurrection has had the courage of genius and refused to be limited to the severely practical but uninspiring barracks which house most of the Government high schools. The different levels of the site break up the mass of buildings into pleasing variety: the great chapel is a daring and successful experiment in the use of brilliant colour—badly needed in South Africa—against plain whitewashed walls: della Robbia panels brighten dull corridors, and quaint figures and fountains deck the steep terraces of the hillside garden.

In Johannesburg two schools for girls are controlled by the Church: *St. Margaret's* and *St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls*. The history of the former has been told; the latter, though young as a Diocesan institution, has had an eventful history. St. Mary's College was originally founded by Miss Holmes-Orr in the early days of the Reef, but was repudiated by the Diocesan authorities during the conflict with J. T. Darragh. It was conducted as a private venture, though with definitely Church principles, and bequeathed by Miss Holmes-Orr to the Diocese of Johannesburg a few years ago. It was then taken over by the Diocese, and after a difficult time of change, which piled up a large debt, now prospers once more.

A new type of work has begun recently in the Pretoria Diocese. Government education is free from the beginnings up to the University stage, and the tiny fees of Church schools appear heavy by contrast. They cannot cater for more than the comparatively well-to-do minority.

In the country schools the medium of instruction in the schools is almost universally Dutch; at the same time in towns only the high schools accommodate boarders. Experiments have been made in the provision of hostels under Church control for children attending Government schools. The first, started by the initiative of the parish priest, was *St. John's Hostel*, Lydenburg, where the district contains a fair number of English people for whose children no hostel accommodation exists. This has been followed by *St. Alban's Hostel*, in the Cathedral Parish of Pretoria, intended for girls attending Government schools, which has been full from the moment of its opening, and whose success seems to indicate that a similar hostel for boys should follow.

The objects of the *House of Mercy* and its allied work at Holy Cross, Irene, are described as:

(*a*) To aim at the rescue and protection of girls and young women of any denomination from the evils to which they are exposed, and to give them religious, moral, and industrial training which will fit them to live respectable lives in the world.

(*b*) To protect permanently the mentally deficient and save them from degrading influences. This work was undertaken in 1918 at the request of the Government, and is housed in a separate Home dedicated to St. Margaret.

(*c*) To protect the homeless infants until they can be placed in suitable environment. For this purpose there is a nursery a short distance from the Home.

The Homes now have their own water-supply and electric light plant, and provide a good deal of their own farm produce. The girls are trained in cooking, laundry and house and needle work, and a few are employed in the garden. The Girl Guide movement plays a prominent part in their recreation. Government departments and municipalities make certain grants—cases are sometimes remitted to the Home on a magis-

trate's order—and the earnings of the Home meet a large proportion of the expense. The rest, about half the cost of upkeep, is found out of voluntary contributions. The authorities are appealing for funds for a new wing, to provide a recreation room and accommodation for twelve more (numbers are limited to forty-five by space, and applications have to be refused), and increased kitchen accommodation.

The work of Dean Palmer at Johannesburg has been marked by the establishment of what is called officially *St. Mary's Rest Home for Men*, but which the city has decided to be "the Dean's Shelter." When he came to Johannesburg he found that the clergy of St. Mary's were continually approached by "down-and-outs" for a night's lodging, and in June, 1926, he appealed for funds to help the foodless and shelterless during the cold nights of winter. The appeal caught the imagination of Johannesburg, and the response was generous, but the need proved to be so great that the Shelter remained open into summer, and its doors have never closed. Figures quoted in May, 1928, show that 16,260 beds and 47,181 meals had been provided in its short existence. The Shelter tries to do away with the "doss house" atmosphere, and is run on "club" lines with a minimum of regulation. It deals with all sorts beside the regular tramp and "hard case"—elderly men who find work difficult to get, men just discharged from hospital, strangers, often lads, who have come to Johannesburg in search of employment and failed. The need has been definitely established; a permanent home has just been bought and the management is collecting the funds to pay for it.

The *South African Church Railway Mission* was primarily intended to keep touch with gangers along the line and officials at railway stations in lonely places, but it works also among the little European communities beside the line. It is a separate organization, with headquarters in Johannesburg, but largely financed from England,

and its clergy receive the Bishop's licence to officiate in his Diocese. The railway system of the country is divided up into areas, each worked by a priest who travels along the line, pausing at regular centres, where he holds services, baptizes, teaches the children, and tries to cram the whole work of a parish priest into a visit of a few hours, which may come once a month or even less often. Women workers try to keep in touch with the isolated womenfolk. The work is unromantic, or, rather, the romance can be found only by one prepared to look below the surface. The constant movement is a great strain, and missioners cannot be kept at the work for long without a break.

One piece of work which is no longer administered by the Church, though to it belongs the credit of origination, is that among the lads of the hostel at Auckland Park. Work began among young men in a general way in 1908, and at one time clubs were in existence in various parts of the town. The movement gradually felt its way towards the most pressing need—the establishment of a hostel—and Bishop Furse got together a Committee which guaranteed £500 a year to the Superintendent, Mr. Norman, now Chief Probation Officer. A special development was work among first offenders at the courts, and the hostel became recognized by magistrates as a suitable place for probation. The work has developed, but during a period of temporary financial stringency the hostel was handed over to the Government, much to the surprise of Bishop Furse, who was away in England at the time. The hostel still continues under the same Superintendent as before, and it is therefore no reflection to say that an organized religious body is more likely to be able to find the suitable staff, and that religion cannot fail to prove a better reformative agency than the vague morality which is the only standby of the non-sectarian State. A similar hostel for girls is still under the control of the Church. It was started under the auspices of the Girls' Diocesan Association, who raised £10,000 towards its cost.

This account of the work done by the Church must not close without a reminder of the tremendous task of the Church Army representatives in the diamond diggings, which was mentioned in an earlier chapter.

There should also be placed on record the work among the native peoples mentioned in the Mission chapter:

The College of the Resurrection for catechists and ordinands in Johannesburg.

The Diocesan Training College at Grâce-Dieu, Pietersburg, for native teachers.

St. Agnes's School, Rosettenville.

The native secondary schools at Rosettenville and Pietersburg.

The industrial and agricultural settlement of Cyrene, in the Western Transvaal.

The Native Girls' Home at Pretoria and the Native Girls' Hostel at Johannesburg.

Native Girls' Clubs and Women's social work, Johannesburg.

Medical work, clinics, and babies' welfare work among natives along the Reef.

The medical work at Jane Furse Hospital in Sekukuniland.

EPILOGUE

JUBILEES, centenaries, and anniversaries of all sorts have a very practical value. They are not so much an unnecessary exploring of a dead past as a challenge to the present to take stock of its condition.

The Anglican Communion has been represented in the Transvaal for sixty-four years, and has possessed Diocesan organization for fifty. The Jubilee comes as a summons to the Dioceses of Pretoria and Johannesburg to take stock of their position and ask themselves whether the expenditure of money, time, and faithful lives has been justified by the result. The enquiry must be conducted with perfect honesty, with no shirking of facts, digging out the reverses and failures and revealing them to the light of day. Less than anyone should the Christian Church need to fear the truth.

First and foremost, how has the Church system, evolved in the Old Country through many centuries of gradual development, stood the test of transplantation?

In Pretoria and the larger towns of the Reef, Church life is settled and fairly simple, very much on the lines of their English prototype, though there must be few parishes which do not contain at least one subsidiary church or chapel of ease. In the country towns and districts the pastoral care of the priest in charge is spread very thin. From the village which is the centre he goes out on rounds of itineration, visiting the out-stations monthly or quarterly, while the services at headquarters are conducted by lay readers holding the Bishop's licence.

This type of work has been revolutionized by the cheap motor-car. In the old days visitation was a matter of jolting along by mule cart—Bishop Furse once said that the new cathedral at Pretoria should contain a stained glass window dedicated to the mule, since no other agent

had done so much for the spread of the faith! The motor is quicker and more economical, and enables very much more ground to be covered. It is amusing to put on record the comment of the Diocesan Magazine on what appears to have been the first episcopal visitation in the Transvaal to be conducted by car. "Glad as we were of the rains, some of us were even more glad to hear that the motor-car so kindly lent had safely carried the Bishop along the broken roads to his far distant native confirmation. . . . He and Father Fuller set out on their wild, adventurous way, and got there, contrary to the expectations of a good many." The date was March of 1906.

The difficulty of the country work is that the sacramental system which the Prayer Book accepts as the foundation of the Christian's rule of life becomes an occasional luxury. There can be no sort of continuous religious instruction—confirmation classes are practically impossible—and none of that personal pastoral relation between a priest and his flock which is one of the strong points of the Catholic system. It has been said, in fact, that not only Anglicanism, but the whole method of the Catholic Church, with its rule of life and regular services, the Sacraments and pastoral care, are suited only to closely settled communities, and that for South Africa the Boer system of personal religion and family prayer meetings, with quarterly services in the towns, works much more satisfactorily.

But this is to raise a very much larger issue—how far is the Church of the Province justifying its existence as a whole? Has it really put down its roots into South Africa, or is it merely, as some would rather have it be, an exotic importation, a pleasant reminder of the ways of the Old Country.

First, it must be conceded that the Church of the Province is limited to the English-speaking community, which, largely for political reasons, has not yet established itself in the Transvaal. This is the chief cause of the disquieting scarcity of South-African-born candidates

for ordination, a phenomenon that affects all the English religious bodies alike. Owing to its scattered population and missionary field, South Africa demands a much higher proportion of clergy than a European country. With the exception of Johannesburg, where the settled population is producing a few, the number coming forward is trifling, and the balance must be made good by importation. The intellectual stimulus of the new minds brought into South Africa is all to the good; may it long continue, but dependence upon a majority of strangers among its clergy is by no means satisfactory. Passage money alone constitutes a serious expense; many priests come on short term contracts and leave the Transvaal just as they are beginning to know the conditions and to be of some use. More dangerous is the fact that Synod, the legislative body of the Diocese, always contains a large proportion of men who have not had more than two or three years' experience of a popular assembly of this nature.

Much of the scarcity is due to that fatal ignorance of all things religious that has been inherited from the English layman. Very few of the men and women of the Church could give a reasoned explanation of the faith. Too often they shirk the intellectual exercise, and, content to import their religious ministers from oversea, drift on in apathy. After all, there is no money in the priesthood.

Sooner or later the Church of the Province will have to think out her position, and face the question of her relations with those Europeans, and especially those of other race, who are not of her communion. This introduces the question of "proselytizing"—ill-omened word. No one can deny that the Dutch Churches have set a fine example in the way they have held the loyalty of their people, the high place given to religion in public life, and the steady flow of candidates for the ministry, but can the Church of the Province rest content with being the Church of a minority of a minority?

Is there such a thing as an Anglican tradition? If the Church of England is merely one more Protestant sect,

differing from its fellows only in the tenacity with which it holds on to endowments and that queer love of ceremonial which distinguishes the Englishman and characterizes his Parliament, his army, the Universities, the municipalities and the rest of his public life, then the sooner it is wiped out the better. It only cumbers the ground.

If, on the other hand, we believe that our Church has a grasp of some aspect of fundamental Truth that has escaped the rest of the world, then we cannot, without being false to our Lord and Master, rest calmly without making an effort to proclaim it.

Above all, the Church of the Province must escape from the narrowly racial basis that makes it appear too often as the local branch of a sort of patriotic society.

What of the work itself? Here the Church must wage unceasing war on parochialism and any other narrowing tendency, and strive for that "larger view" that was the message of Bishop Furse. Faced by the heathen populations of the north, and scattered groups of settlers who have come out from the Old Country, and with the heavy expense of transport, the little band of white communicants must still look to the Mother Church for assistance. At the same time it should be an absolute rule for the white population to pay its own clergy throughout the country, find its own transport allowances, and a certain amount of money for native missions—say those in the towns. The natives already pay their own clergy and catechists. This would leave the grants from oversea free to be devoted to capital expenditure in the mission field, and to the forward work of the Church among the vast population of the heathen areas.

The northern Diocese—that of Pretoria—presents a difficult problem. Those who, at the time of division, referred to the impossibility of doing justice to two separate "centres" paid it a compliment that was scarcely deserved. The only "centre" in the Transvaal —and the railway lines indicate the fact clearly—is the

Rand. At the same time the great opportunity of the Church lies in the north. The map shows the mountains of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal peopled by a mass of tribes, the great majority of whose members are heathen, many of which have not yet been approached by mission workers. Pretoria town, the only centre of population in the Diocese, lies on the extreme edge, a day's railway journey away from its chief responsibilities. The three town parishes cannot do more than finance the work among white settlers and perhaps a fraction of the existing native work.

The northern Diocese has not even been able to cover itself against the coming loss of a third of its endowment, all the revenue of which has been swallowed up in current expenditure, instead of going into a Sinking Fund. It is incapable of facing the establishment of that missionary institution which the circumstances of the north so clearly demand.

Is it too much to suggest that the southern Diocese should recognize its responsibility for the great heathen areas of the Transvaal by the establishment of such an institution, and its endowment with the funds that will fall due in the course of a few years? There would be no question of subsidizing one community at the expense of another, and the southern Diocese would naturally take all precautions to reserve its own rights. The only alternative would seem to be the establishment of a missionary Diocese of the north with all the endowment of the two existing Sees, and the absorption of Pretoria and its two attendant villages of Rustenburg and Middelburg into the Diocese of Johannesburg.

So much for the gloomy side of the picture, all of it only too true—an uninstructed laity, a placid tolerance of religious and racial divisions, a lack of men and women prepared to sacrifice everything in the service of their Master, a calm acceptance of the labour and devotion of priests and workers from oversea—the work of the Church could not be carried on in the Transvaal without

the religious orders—the main task of spreading the faith among the heathen scarcely even attempted. What can be said on the other side?

If the darker parts of the picture are true, it is no less true that much has been accomplished. He who looks back over fifty years of the Church life of the Transvaal cannot fail to recognize the great things that have been done.

First, it is true, as Bishop Furse so often claimed, that in South Africa the Anglican theory of the Church has been vindicated. The English Church has found herself. In the Mother Country so much was due to the sheer weight of inertia, to endowments, the Establishment, to the simple physical continuity of the village church. Here in South Africa the Anglican tradition has been reasoned out afresh, scientifically, historically, philosophically, even legally. No thinking man can remain in the Church of the Province content with the vague prejudices which in England so often take the place of religion. He may drift to another sect, and often does, but the leakage in South Africa is due to faults in the methods of England rather than in the Church of the Province. If he is content to remain he must have grasped, somehow or other, the principles on which she rests.

The great achievement of the Church of the Province has been to put into practice the principles on which the theory of the Church of England rests, and to show that they work.

Secondly, the Church of the Province has been able to find a place for her laity. In Synods, in Parochial Councils, and on Diocesan Boards a great deal of faithful and loyal work is done by lay officials, and their counsel is able to identify the lay folk as a whole with the policy and actions of the Church. Though the infallibility of the layman in finance is no more to be accepted as an article of faith than any other dogma of the kind, and lay advisers have not been free from error in the past, it is only reasonable that they should be more conversant

with temporal affairs than the clergy, whose training has been of another kind.

Thirdly, the Church in the Transvaal can look back on fifty years of practical achievement. Priests have been placed in practically every town of the Transvaal, and are maintained by funds contributed within the civil Province. Through all its wide expanse no single Churchman need be completely out of touch with his Church and the consolations of religion. The country has been divided up into parishes and districts, and the whole co-ordinated into Diocesan organizations that are probably as efficient as any in the world. Church buildings have been placed in practically every parish: some are of outstanding architectural importance. The Cathedral of Johannesburg and the Chancel at Pretoria are achievements of which any organized body might be proud. At the same time a growing list of institutions and works of mercy, hardly to be equalled by any other body, testify to a recognition that for a Christian his duty towards his neighbour is part of that towards his God.

Lastly, and the full story will never be known until the Great Assize, the Church can claim the faithful service and loving devotion of a multitude of sons and daughters, whose work perhaps never achieved public recognition, but which all passed, as an essential part, to the making up of the main account.

Only facts can justify the tremendous claim of the Christian Church, and here, in that region of fact which is the chosen field of the scientist and man of affairs, he who looks back on the fifty years' experience of the Church in the Transvaal finds that she is amply justified.

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